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The Shakespeare Head Edition
of the Novels and Selected Writings
of Daniel Defoe
COLONEL JACK
Volume II



THE HISTORY

Of the most Remarkable LIFE, and Extraordinary Adventures, of the truly Honourable COLONEL JAQUE, vulgarly call'd

COLONEL JACK

Who was born a Gentleman, put Apprentice to a Pick-Pocket, flourish'd Six and Twenty Years as a Thief, and was then Kidnapp'd to Virginia: Came back a Merchant, was Five Times married to Four Whores, went into the Wars, behav'd Bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment; return'd again to England, follow'd the Fortunes of the Chevalier de St George, was taken at the Preston Rebellion; receiv'd his Pardon from the late King, is now at the Head of his Regiment, in the Service of the Czarina fighting against the Turks, compleating a Life of Wonders and resolves to die a General.

Written by the Author of Robinson Crusoe

OXFORD: BASIL BLACKWELL
Publisher to the SHAKESPEARE HEAD PRESS
of STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

1927

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THE LIFE OF COLONEL JACK

I WAS now at the Height of my good Fortune; indeed I was in very good Circumstances, and being of a frugal Temper from the Beginning, I sav'd Things together as they came, and yet liv'd very well too; particularly I had the Reputation of a very considerable Merchant, and one that came over vastly Rich from *Virginia*, and as I frequently brought Supplies for my several Families and Plantations there, as they wrote to me for them so I pass'd (I say) for a great Merchant.

I liv'd single indeed, and in Lodgings, but I began to be very well known, and tho' I had subscrib'd my Name only *Jack* to my particular Correspondent, yet the *French*, among whom I liv'd near a Year, (as I have said) not understanding what *Jack* meant, call'd me Monsieur *Jacque*, and Colonel *Jacques*, and so gradually Colonel *Jacque*; so I was call'd in the Certificate of exchanging me with the other Prisoner, so that I went so also into *Flanders*; upon which, and seeing my Certificate of Exchange, (as above) I was call'd Colonel *Jacques* in *England*, by my Friend, who I call'd Correspondent; and thus I pass'd for a Foreigner, and a *Frenchman*, and I was infinitely fond of having every Body take me for a *Frenchman*; and as I spoke *French* very well, having learn'd it by continuing so long among them: so I went constantly to the *French-Church* in *London*, and spoke *French* upon all Occasions, as much as I could, and

to compleat the Appearance of it, I got me a *French* Servant to do my Business, I mean as to my Merchandise, which only consisted in receiving and disposing of *Tobacco* of which I had about 500 to 600 Hogsheads a Year from my own Plantations, and in supplying my People with Necessaries, as they wanted them.

IN this private Condition I continued about two Year more, when the Devil owing me a Spleen, ever since I refus'd being a Thief, paid me Home, with my Interest, by laying a Snare in my Way, which had almost ruined me.

THERE dwelt a Lady, in the House opposite to the House I lodg'd in, who made an extraordinary Figure, in deed she went very well dress'd, and was a most beautiful Person; she was well bred, sung admirably fine, and sometimes I could hear her very distinctly, the Houses being over-against one another, in a narrow Court, not much unlike *Three-King-Court* in *Lombard-Street*.

THIS Lady put herself so often in my Way, that I could not in good Manners forbear taking Notice of her, and giving her the Ceremony of my Hat, when I saw her at the Window, or at the Door, or when I pass'd her in the Court, so that we became almost acquainted at a Distance; sometimes she also visited at the House I lodg'd at, and it was generally contriv'd, that I should be introduced when she came; and thus by Degrees we became more intimately acquainted, and often convers'd together in the Family, but always in Publick, at least for a great while.

I was a meer Boy in the Affair of Love, and knew the least of what belong'd to a Woman, of any Man in *Europe* of my Age; the Thoughts of a Wife, much less of a Mistress, had never so much as taken the least hold of my

Head, and I had been till now as perfectly unacquainted with the Sex, and as unconcern'd about them, as I was when I was ten Year old, and lay in a Heap of Ashes at a *Glass-House*.

BUT I know not by what Witchcraft, in the Conversation of this Woman, and her singling me out upon several Occasions, I began to be ensnared, I knew not how, or to what End; and was on a sudden so embarrass'd in my Thoughts about her, that like a Charm she had me always in her Circle; if she had not been one of the subtlest Women on Earth, she could never have brought me to have given myself the least Trouble about her; but I, drawn in by the Magick of a Genius, capable to deceive a more wary Capacity than mine, and it was impossible to resist her.

SHE attack'd me without ceasing, with the Fineness of her Conduct, and with Arts, which were impossible to be ineffectual; she was ever (as it were) in my View, often in my Company, and yet kept herself so on the Reserve, so surrounded continually with Obstructions, that for several Months after she could perceive I sought an Opportunity to speak to her, she rendered it impossible, nor could I ever break in upon her, she kept her Guard so well.

THIS rigid Behaviour was the greatest Mystery that could be, considering at the same Time, that she never declined my seeing her, or conversing with me in Publick; but she held it on, she took Care never to sit next me, that I might slip no Paper into her Hand, or speak softly to her; she kept some Body or other always between, that I could never come up to her; and thus, as if she was resolv'd really to have nothing to do with me, she held me at the Bay several Months.

ALL this while nothing was more certain than that she intended to have me, if she could catch, and it was indeed a kind of a Catch, for she manag'd all by Art, and drew me in with the most resolute Backwardness, that it was almost impossible not to be deceiv'd by it; on the other Hand, she did not appear to be a Woman despicable, neither was she poor, or in a Condition that should require so much Art to draw any Man in; but the Cheat was really on my Side; for she was unhappily told, that I was vastly Rich, a great Merchant, and that she would live like a Queen, which I was not at all instrumental in putting upon her, neither did I know that she went upon that Motive.

SHE was too cunning to let me perceive how easy she was to be had; on the contrary, she run all the Hazards of bringing me to neglect her entirely, that one would think any Woman in the World could do; and I have wondered often since, that how it was possible it should fail of making me perfectly averse to her; for as I had a perfect Indifferency for the whole Sex, and never, till then, entertained any Notion of them, they were no more to me than a Picture hanging up against a Wall.

As we convers'd freely together in Publick, so she took a great many Occasions to rally the Men, and the Weakness they were guilty of, in letting the Women insult them as they did; she thought if the Men had been Fools, Marriage had been only Treaties of Peace between two Neighbours, or Alliances offensive or defensive, which must necessarily have been carried on sometimes by Interviews, and personal Treaties; but oftner by Ambassadors, Agents, and Emissaries on both Sides; but that the Women had outwitted us, and brought us upon our Knees, and made us whine after them, and lower our-

selves, so as we could never pretend to gain our Equality again.

I TOLD her I thought it was a Decency to the Ladies, to give them the Advantage of denying a little, that they might be courted, and that I should not like a Woman the worse for denying me. I expect it Madam, says I, when I wait on you To-morrow, intimating, that I intended it; you shan't be deceiv'd Sir, says she, for I'll deny now, before you ask me the Question.

I WAS dash'd so effectually, with so malicious, so devilish an Answer, that I return'd with a little Sullenness; I shan't Trespass upon you yet Madam, and I shall be very careful not to offend you when I do.

It is the greatest Token of your Respect Sir, says she, that you are able to bestow upon me, and the most agreeable too, except one, which I will not be out of Hopes of obtaining of you in a little Time.

WHAT is in my Power to oblige you in Madam, said I, you may command me in at any Time, especially the Way we are talking of; this I spoke still with a Resentment very sincere.

'Tis only, Sir, that you would promise to hate me with as much Sincerity, as I will endeavour to make you a suitable Return.

I GRANTED that Request, Madam, seven Year before you ask'd it, said I, for I heartily hated the whole Sex, and scarce know how I came to abate that good Disposition in Compliment to your Conversation; but I assure you that Abatement is so little, that it does no Injury to your Proposal.

THERE'S some Mystery in that indeed, Sir, said she, for I desir'd to assist your Aversion to Women in a more par-

ticular Manner, and hop'd it should never abate under my Management. We said a Thousand ill-natured Things after this, but she out-did me, for she had such a Stock of Bitterness upon her Tongue, as no Woman ever went beyond her, and yet all this while she was the pleasantest, and most obliging Creature in every Part of our Conversation that could possibly be, and meant not one Word of what she said, no, not a Word: But I must confess, it no way answer'd her End; for it really cooled all my Thoughts of her, and I, that had liv'd in so perfect an Indifferency to the Sex all my Days, was easily return'd to that Condition again, and began to grow very cold and negligent in my usual Respects to her upon all Occasions.

SHE soon found she had gone too far with me; and in short, that she was extreamly out in her Politicks, that she had to do with one that was not lifted yet among the whining Sort of Lovers, and knew not what it was to adore a Mistress, in order to abuse her; and that it was not with me, as it was with the usual Sort of Men in Love, that are warm'd by the Cold, and rise in their Passions, as the Ladies fall in their Returns; on the contrary, she found that it was quite alter'd; I was civil to her, as before, but not so forward, when I saw her at her Chamber Window, I did not throw mine open, as I usually had done, to talk with her; when she sung in the Parlour, where I could easily hear it, I did not listen; when she visited at the House where I lodg'd, I did not always come down, or if I did, I had Business which oblig'd me to go Abroad, and yet all this while, when I did come into her Company, I was as intimate as ever.

I COULD easily see that this madded her to the Heart, and that she was perplex'd to the last Degree, for she

found that she had all her Game to play over again; that so absolute a Reservedness, even to Rudeness and ill Manners, was a little too much; but she was a meer Posture Mistress in Love, and could put herself into what Shapes she pleas'd.

SHE was too wise to shew a Fondness or Forwardness, that look'd like Kindness, she knew that was the meanest, and last Step a Woman can take, and lays her under the Foot of the Man she pretends to; Fondness is not the last Favour indeed, but it is the last Favour but one, that a Woman can grant, and lays her almost as low, I mean it lays her at the Mercy of the Man she shews it to, but she was not come to that neither: This Camelion put on another Colour, turn'd on a sudden the gravest, soberest, majestick Madam, so that any one would have thought she was advanced in Age in one Week, from Two and Twenty to Fifty, and this she carried on with so much Government of herself, that it did not in the least look like Art; but if it was a Representation of Nature only, it was so like Nature itself, that no Body living can be able to distinguish; she sung very often in her Parlour, as well by herself as with two young Ladies, who came often to see her; I could see by their Books, and her Guitar in her Hand, that she was singing, but she never open'd the Window, she kept her own always shut, or if it was open, she would be sitting at Work, and not look up, it may be, once in half an Hour.

If she saw me by Accident all this while, she would smile, and speak as chearfully as ever, but it was but a Word or two, and so make her Honours and be gone; so that in a Word, we convers'd just as we did, after I had been there a Week.

SHE tired me quite out at this Work, for tho' I began the Strangeness indeed, yet I did not design the carrying it on so far; but she held it to the last, just in the same Manner as she began it: She came to the House where I lodg'd as usual, and we were often together, supp'd together, play'd Cards together, danc'd together; for in *France* I accomplish'd myself with every Thing that was needful, to make me what I believ'd myself to be even from a Boy, I mean a Gentleman; I say, we convers'd together, as above, but she was so perfectly another Thing than what she us'd to be in every Part of her Conversation, that it presently occur'd to me, that her former Behaviour was a kind of a Rant, or Fit; that either it was the Effect of some extraordinary Levity that had come upon her, or that it was done to mimick the Coquets of the Town, believing it might take with me, who she thought was a *Frenchman*, and that it was what I lov'd; but her new Gravity was her real natural Temper, and indeed became it her so much better, or as I should say, she acted it so well, that it really brought me back to have, not as much only, but more Mind to her than ever I had before.

HOWEVER, it was a great while before I discover'd myself, and I staid indeed to find out, if possible, whether this Change was real or counterfeit; for I could not easily believe it was possible the gay Humour she us'd to appear in could be a Counterfeit; it was not therefore till a Year and almost a Quarter, that I came to any Resolution in my Thoughts about her, when on a meer Accident we came to a little Conversation together.

SHE came to visit at our House as usual, and it happen'd all the Ladies were gone Abroad; but as it fell out, I was in the Passage, or Entry of the House, going towards the

Stairs, when she knock'd at the Door; so stepping back, I open'd the Door, and she, without any Ceremony, came in, and run forward into the Parlour, supposing the Women had been there, I went in after her, as I could do no less, because she did know that the Family was Abroad.

UPON my coming in, she ask'd for the Ladies, I told her, I hop'd she came to visit me now, for that the Ladies were all gone Abroad: Are they (said she) as if surpriz'd (tho' as I understood afterwards she knew it before, as also that I was at Home) and then rises up to be gone: No Madam, said I, pray do not go; when Ladies come to visit me I do not use to tire them of my Company so soon; that's as ill-natured, says she, as you could possibly talk, pray don't pretend I came to visit you, I am satisfy'd who I came to visit, and satisfy'd that you know it; yes Madam, said I, but if I happen to be all of the Family that's left at Home, then you came to visit me.

I NEVER receive Visits from those that I hate, says she.

You have me there indeed, said I, but you never gave me Leave to tell you, why I hated you, I hated you because you would never give me an Opportunity to tell you I lov'd you; sure, you took me for some frightful Creature that you would never come near enough, so much as to whisper to you that I love you.

I NEVER care to hear any Thing so disagreeable, says she, tho' it be spoken ever so softly.

WE rallied thus for an Hour; in short, she shewed the Abundance of her Wit, and I an abundant Deficiency of mine; for tho' three or four Times she provok'd me to the last Degree, so that once I was going to tell her I had enough of her Company, and if she pleas'd I would wait upon her to the Door; yet she had always so much Witch-

craft on her Tongue, that she brought herself off again; till, to make the Story short, we came at last to talk seriously on both Sides about Matrimony, and she heard me freely propose it, and answered me directly upon many Occasions: For Example, she told me, I would carry her away to *France*, or to *Virginia*, and that she could not think of leaving *England*, her native Country; I told her, I hop'd she did not take me for a Kidnapper: By the way, I did not tell her how I had been Kidnapp'd myself: She said no, but the Consequence of my Affairs, which were it seems mostly Abroad, might oblige me to go, and she could never think of marrying any Man, that she could not be content to go all over the World with, if he had occasion to go himself. This was handsomely expressed indeed, I made her easy in that Point, and thus we began the grand Parley, which indeed she drew me into with the utmost Art and Subtilty, such as was peculiar to herself, but was infinitely her Advantage in our treating of Marriage; for she made me effectually court her, tho' at the same Time in her Design she courted me with the utmost Skill, and such Skill it was, that her Design was perfectly impenetrable to the last Moment.

IN short, we came nearer and nearer every Time we met, and after one casual Visit more, in which I had the mighty Favour of talking with her alone; I then waited on her every Day at her own House, or Lodgings rather, and so we set about the Work to a Purpose, and in about a Month we gave the World the slip, and were privately marry'd to avoid Ceremony, and the publick Inconvenience of a Wedding.

WE soon found a House proper for our Dwelling, and so went to House-keeping; we had not been long together,

but I found that gay Temper of my Wife return'd, and she threw off the Mask of her Gravity, and good Conduct, that I had so long fancy'd was her meer natural Disposition, and now having no more occasion for Disguises, she resolv'd to seem nothing but what really she was, a wild untam'd Colt, perfectly loose, and careless to conceal any Part, no, not the worst of her Conduct.

SHE carry'd on this Air of Levity to such an Excess, that I could not but be dissatisfy'd at the Expence of it, for she kept Company that I did not like, liv'd beyond what I could support, and sometimes lost at Play more than I car'd to pay: Upon which, one Day, I took Occasion to mention it, but lightly; and said to her, by way of Raillery, that we liv'd merrily, for as long as it would last; she turn'd short upon me, what do ye mean, says she, why, you don't pretend to be uneasy, do ye? No, no, Madam, not I, by no Means, 'tis no Business of mine you know, said I, to enquire what my Wife spends, or whether she spends more than I can afford, or less, I only desire the Favour to know, as near as you can guess, how long you will please to take to dispatch me, for I would not be too long a dying.

I DON'T know what you talk of, says she, you may die as leisurely, or as hastily as you please, when your Time comes, I an't a going to kill you, as I know of.

BUT you are a going to starve me Madam, said he, and Hunger is as leisurely a Death, as breaking upon the Wheel.

I STARVE you, why are not you a great *Virginia* Merchant, and did not I bring you 1500 *l*. What would you have? Sure, you can maintain a Wife out of that, can't you?

YES, Madam, says I, I could maintain a Wife, but not a Gamester, tho' you had brought me 1500 *l.* a Year, no Estate is big enough for a Box and Dice.

SHE took Fire at that, and flew out in a Passion, and after a great many bitter Words, told me in short, that she saw no Occasion to alter her Conduct; and as for my not maintaining her, when I could not maintain her longer, she would find some Way or other to maintain herself.

SOMETIME after the first Rattle of this Kind, she vouchsafed to let me know that she was pleas'd to be with Child; I was at first glad of it, in hopes it would help to abate her Madness; but it was all one, and her being with Child, only added to the rest, for she made such Preparations for her Lying-inn, and the other Appendixes of a Child's being born, that in short, I found she would be downright distracted; and I took the Liberty to tell her one Day, that she would soon bring herself and me to Destruction, and entreated her to consider that such Figures as those were quite above us, and out of our Circle; and in short, that I neither could, nor would allow such Expences, that at this Rate, two or three Children would effectually Ruin me, and that I desir'd her to consider what she was doing.

SHE told me with an Air of Disdain, that it was none of her Business to consider any Thing of that Matter, that if I could not allow it, she would allow it herself, and I might do my worst.

I BEGG'D her to consider Things for all that, and not drive me to Extremities, that I married her to love and cherish her, and use her as a good Wife ought to be us'd, but not to be ruin'd, and undone by her. In a Word, nothing could mollify her, nor any Argument persuade her

to Moderation, but withal took it so heinously, that I should pretend to restrain her, that she told me in so many Words, she would drop her Burthen with me, and then if I did not like it, she would take Care of herself, she would not live with me an Hour; for she would not be restrain'd, not she, and talk'd a long while at that Rate.

I TOLD her, as to her Child, which she call'd her Burthen, it should be no Burthen to me, as to the rest she might do as she pleas'd; it might however do me this Favour, that I should have no more Lyings-Inn at the Rate of 136 *l.* at a Time, as I found she intended it should be now; she told me she could not tell that, if she had no more by me, she hop'd she should by some Body else; say you so Madam, said I, then they that get them, shall keep them: She did not know that neither, she said, and so turn'd it off Jearing, and as it were Laughing at me.

THIS last Discourse nettled me, I must confess, and the more, because had a great deal of it, and very often, till in short, we began at length to enter into a friendly Treaty about parting.

NOTHING cou'd be more Criminal than the several Discourses we had upon this Subject; she demanded a separate Maintenance, and in particular at the Rate of 300 *l.* a Year, and I demanded Security of her, that she should not run me in Debt; she demanded the keeping of the Child, with an Allowance of 100 *l.* a Year for that, and I demanding that I should be secur'd from being charg'd for keeping any she might have by some Body else, as she had threaten'd me.

IN the Interval, and during these Contests, she drop'd her Burthen, (as she call'd it) and brought me a Son, a very fine Child.

SHE was content, during her Lying-Inn, to abate a little, tho' it was but a very little indeed, of the great Expence she had intended ; and with some Difficulty and Persuasion was content with a Suit of Child-bed Linnen of 15 *l.* instead of one she had intended of Threescore; and this she magnified as a particular Testimony of her Condescension, and a yielding to my avaricious Temper, as she call'd it.

BUT after she was up again, it was the same Thing, and she went on with her Humour to that Degree, that in a little Time she began to carry it on to other Excesses, and to have a sort of Fellows come to visit her, which I did not like, and once in particular, staid Abroad all Night: The next Day when she came Home, she began to cry out first; told me where (as she said) she lay, and that the Occasion was a Christening, where the Company had a Feast, and staid too late; that if I was dissatisfied, I might inform myself there of all the Particulars, where she lay, and the like; I told her coldly, Madam, you do well to suggest my being dissatisfied, for you may be sure I am, and you cou'd expect no other; that as to going to your Haunts to inform myself, that's not my Business; 'tis your Business to bring Testimonies of your Behaviour, and to prove where you lay, and in what Company, 'tis enough to me that you lay out of your own House, without your Husband's Knowledge or Consent, and before you and I converse again, I must have some Satisfaction of the Particulars.

SHE answer'd, with all her Heart, she was as indifferent as I, and since I took so ill her lying at a Friend's House on an extraordinary Occasion, she gave me to understand, that it was what she would have me expect, and

what she would have the Liberty to do when she thought fit.

WELL Madam, said I, if I must expect what I cannot allow, you must expect I shall shut my Doors by Day, against those that keep out of them at Night.

SHE would try me, she said, very speedily, and if I shut the Doors against her, she would find a Way to make me open them.

WELL Madam, says I, you threaten me hard, but I would advise you to consider before you take such Measures, for I shall be as good as my Word: However, it was not long that we cou'd live together upon these Terms; for I found very quickly what Company she kept, and that she took a Course which I ought not to bear; so I began the Separation first, and refused her my Bed: We had indeed refrain'd all Converse as Husband and Wife for about two Months before, for I told her very plainly, I would Father no Brats that were not of my own getting; and Matters coming thus gradually to an Extremity, too great to continue as it was, she went off one Afternoon, and left me a Line in Writing, signifying that Affairs were come to such a Pass between us, that she did not think fit to give me the Opportunity of shutting her out of Doors, and that therefore she had retir'd herself to such a Place; naming a Relation of her own, as scandalous as herself; and that she hop'd I would not give her the Trouble to sue for her Support, in the ordinary Course of Law, but that as her Occasions requir'd, she should draw Bills upon me, which she expected I would not refuse.

I WAS extremely satisfied with this Proceeding, and took Care to let her hear of it, tho' I gave no Answer at all to her Letter, and as I had taken Care before, that when-

ever she play'd such a Prank as this, she should not be able to carry much with her; so after she was gone, I immediately broke up House-keeping, sold my Furniture by publick Out-cry, and in it every Thing in particular that was her own, and set a Bill upon my Door, giving her to understand by it, that she had passed the *Rubicon*, that as she had taken such a Step of her own Accord, so there was no Room left her ever to think of coming back again.

THIS was what any one may believe I should not have done, if I had seen any Room for a Reformation; but she had given me such Testimonies of a Mind alienated from her Husband in particular, espousing her own unsufferable Lenity, that there was indeed no possibility of our coming after wards to any Terms again.

HOWEVER, I kept a couple of trusty Agents so near her, that I fail'd not to have a full Account of her Conduct, tho' I never let her know any Thing of me, but that I was gone over to *France*; as to her Bills which she said she would draw upon me, she was as good as her Word in drawing one of 30 *l.* which I refused to accept, and never gave her Leave to trouble me with another.

It is true, and I must acknowledge it, that all this was a very melancholy Scene of Life to me, and but that she took Care by carrying herself to the last Degree provoking, and continually to insult me, I could never have gone on to the parting with so much Resolution, for I really lov'd her very sincerely, and could have been any Thing but a Beggar and a Cuckold with her, but those were intollerable to me, especially, as they were put upon me with so much insult and rudeness.

BUT my Wife carried it at last to a Point that made all Things light and easy to me, for after above a Years Sepa-

ration, and keeping such Company as she thought fit, she was pleased to be with Child again, in which she had, however, so much Honesty, as not to pretend that she had had any Thing to do with me; what a wretched Life she led after this, and how she brought herself to the utmost Extremity of Misery and Distress, I may speak of hereafter.

I HAD found soon after our parting, that I had a great deal of Reason to put myself into a Posture at first, not to be imposed upon by her; for I found very quickly that she had run herself into Debt in several Places very considerably; and that it was upon a Supposition, that I was liable to those Debts: But I was gone, and it was absolutely necessary I should do so; upon which, she found herself oblig'd out of her wicked Gains, however, whatever she made of them to discharge most those Debts herself.

As soon as she was deliver'd of her Child, in which my Intelligence was so good, that I had gotten sufficient Proof of it; I sued her in the Ecclesiastical Court, in order to obtain a Divorce, and as she found it impossible to avoid it, so she declin'd the Defence, and I gain'd a legal Decree, or what they call it, of Divorce, in the usual Time of such Process, and now I thought myself a Freeman once again, and began to be sick of Wedlock with all my Heart.

I LIV'D retir'd, because I knew she had contracted Debts which I should be oblig'd to pay, and I was resolv'd to be gone out of her Reach, with what Speed I could, but it was necessary that I should stay till the *Virginia* Fleet came in; because I look'd for at least 300 Hogsheads of Tobacco from thence, which I knew would heal all my Breaches; for indeed the Extravagance of 3 Years

with this Lady, had sunk me most effectually, even far beyond her own Fortune, which was considerable, tho' not quite 1500 *l.* as she had call'd it.

BUT all the Mischiefs I met with on Account of this Match, were not over yet, for when I had been parted with her about three Months, and had refused to accept her Bill of 30 *l.* which I mention'd above, tho' I was remov'd from my first Lodgings too, and thought I had effectually secur'd myself from being found out, yet there came a Gentleman well dressed to my Lodgings one Day, and was let in before I knew of it, or else I should scarce have admitted him.

HE was led into a Parlour, and I came down to him in my Gown and Slippers; when I came into the Room, he call'd me as familiarly by my Name, as if he had known me 20 Year, and pulling out a Pocket-Book, he shows me a Bill upon me, drawn by my Wife, which was the same Bill for 30 *l.* that I had refused before.

SIR, says I, this Bill has been presented before, and I gave my Answer to it then.

ANSWER! Sir, says he, with a kind of jeering taunting Air, I don't understand what you mean by an Answer, it is not a Question Sir, it is a Bill to be paid.

WELL Sir, says I, it is a Bill I know that, and I gave my Answer to it before.

SIR, Sir, says he, very saucily, your Answer! there's no Answer to a Bill, it must be paid, Bills are to be paid, not to be answered, they say you are a Merchant Sir, Merchants always pay their Bills.

I BEGUN to be angry too a little, but I did not like my Man, for I found he began to be quarrelsome; however I said, Sir, I perceive you are not much used to presenting

Bills; Sir, a Bill is always first presented, and presenting is a Question, 'tis asking if I will accept, or pay the Bill, and then whether I say yes or no, 'tis an Answer one Way or other; after 'tis accepted, it indeed requires no more Answer but Payment when 'tis due, if you please to inform yourself, this is the Usage which all Merchants or Tradesmen of any kind, who have Bills drawn upon them act by.

WELL Sir, says he, and what then? What is this to the paying me the 30 *l*.

WHY Sir, says I, it is this to it, that I told the Person that brought it, I should not pay it.

Not pay it! says he, but you shall pay it, ay, ay, you will pay it.

SHE that draws it, has no Reason to draw any Bills upon me, I am sure, said I, and I shall pay no Bills she draws I assure you.

UPON this, he turns short upon me, Sir, she that draws this Bill is a Person of too much Honour to draw any Bill without Reason, and 'tis an Affront to say so of her, and I shall expect Satisfaction of you for that by itself; but first the Bill Sir, the Bill, you must pay the Bill Sir.

I RETURN'D as short, Sir, I affront no body. I know the Person as well as you I hope, and what I have said of her is no Affront, she can have no Reason to draw Bills upon me, for I owe her nothing.

I OMIT intermingling the Oaths he lac'd his Speech with, as too foul for my Paper, but he told me he would make me know she had Friends to stand by her, that I had abused her, and he would let me know it, and do her Justice; but first, I must pay his Bill.

I ANSWER'D in short, I would not pay the Bill, nor any Bills she should draw.

WITH that he steps to the Door and shuts it, and swore by G—d he would make me pay the Bill before we parted, and laid his Hand upon his Sword, but did not draw it out.

I CONFESS I was frighted to the last Degree, for I had no Sword, and if I had, I must own, that tho' I had learn'd a great many good Things in *France* to make me look like a Gentleman, I had forgot the main Article of learning how to use a Sword, a Thing so universally practised there; and to say more, I had been perfectly unacquainted with Quarrels of this Nature; so that I was perfectly surprised when he shut the Door, and knew not what to say or do.

HOWEVER as it happen'd, the People of the House hearing us pretty loud, came near the Door, and made a Noise in the Entry, to let me know they were at Hand, and one of the Servants going to open the Door, and finding it lock'd, call'd out to me, Sir, for God's Sake open the Door! What is the Matter? Shall we fetch a Constable? I made no Answer, but it gave me Courage, so I sat down composed in one of the Chairs, and said to him; Sir, this is not the Way to make me pay the Bill, you had much better be easy, and take your Satisfaction another Way.

HE understood me of fighting, which upon my Word was not in my Thoughts, but I meant that he had better take his Course at Law.

WITH all my Heart, says he, they say you are a Gentleman, and they call you Colonel; now if you are a Gentleman, I accept your Challenge Sir, and if you will walk out with me, I'll take it for full Payment of the Bill, and will decide it as Gentlemen ought to do.

I CHALLENGE you Sir! said I, not I, I made no Challenge, I said, this is not the Way to make me pay a Bill

that I have not accepted, that is, that you had better seek your Satisfaction at Law.

LAW! says he, Law! Gentleman's Law is my Law; in short Sir, you shall pay me or fight me, and then, as if he had mistaken, he turns short upon me, nay, says he, you shall both fight me and pay me, for I will maintain her Honour; and in saying this he bestowed about 6 or 7 Damme's and Oaths, by Way of Parenthesis.

THIS Interval deliver'd me effectually, for just as the Word fight me, for I will maintain her Honour, the Maid had brought in a Constable, with 3 or 4 Neighbours to assist him.

HE heard them come in, and began to be a little in a Rage, and asked him if I intended to mob him instead of paying, and laying his Hand on his Sword, told me, if any Man offered to break in upon him, he would run me thro' the first Moment, that he might have the fewer to deal with afterwards.

I TOLD him he knew I had call'd for no Help, believing he could not be in earnest in what he had said, and that if any Body attempted to come in upon us, it was to prevent the Mischief he threaten'd, and which he might see I had no Weapons to resist.

UPON this the Constable call'd, and charg'd us both in the King's Name to open the Door, I was sitting in a Chair, and offer'd to rise, he made a Motion as if he would draw, upon which I sat down again, and the Door not being open'd, the Constable set his Foot against it and came in.

WELL Sir, says my Gentleman, and what now? What's your Business here? Nay Sir, says the Constable, you see my Business, I am a Peace Officer, all I have to do is to

keep the Peace, and I find, the People of the House frighted for Fear of Mischief should be between you, have fetch'd me to prevent it; what Mischief have they supposed you should find, says he, I suppose, says the Constable, they were afraid you shou'd fight; that's because they did not know this Fellow here, he never fights, they call him Colonel, says he, I suppose he might be born a Colonel, for I dare say, he was born a Coward; he never fights, he dares not see a Man, if he would have fought he would have walk'd out with me, but he scorns to be brave, they would never have talk'd to you of fighting, if they had known him: I tell you Mr. Constable he is a Coward, and a Coward is a Rascal; and with that he came to me, and strok'd his Finger down my Nose pretty hard, and laugh'd and mock'd most horridly, as if I was a Coward; now for ought I knew it might be true, but I was now what they call a Coward made desperate, which is one of the worst of Men in the World to encounter with, for being in a Fury, I threw my Head in his Face, and closing with him, threw him fairly on his Back by main Strength, and had not the Constable step'd in and taken me off, I had certainly stamp'd him to Death with my Feet, for my Blood was now all in a Flame, and the People of the House were frighted now as much the other Way, least I should kill him, tho' I had no Weapon at all in my Hand.

THE Constable too reprov'd me in his Turn, but I said to him, Mr. Constable, don't you think I am sufficiently provok'd? Can any Man bear such Things as these? I desire to know who this Man is, and who sent him hither?

I AM, says he, a Gentleman, and come with a Bill to him for Money, and he refuses to pay it; well, says the Constable very prudently, that's none of my Business, I am

no Justice of Peace to hear the Cause, be that among your selves, but keep your Hands off of one another, and that's as much as I desire; and therefore Sir, says the Constable to him, if I may advise you, seeing he will not pay the Bill, and that must be decided between you as the Law directs, I would have you leave it for the present, and go quietly away.

HE made many impertinent Harangues about the Bill, and insisted, that it was drawn by my own Wife; I said angrily, then it was drawn by a Whore, he bullied me upon that, told me I durst not tell him so any where else; so I answer'd, I would very soon publish her for a Whore to all the World, and cry her down, and thus we scolded for near half an Hour, for I took Courage when the Constable was there, for I knew that he would keep us from fighting, which indeed I had no Mind too, and so at length I got rid of him.

I WAS heartily vex'd at this Rencounter, and the more, because I had been found out in my Lodging, which I thought I had effectually conceal'd; however I resolv'd to remove the next Day, and in the mean Time I kept within Doors all that Day till the Evening, and then I went out in order not to return thither any more.

BEING come out into *Grace-church-street*, I observ'd a Man follow me, with one of his Legs tied up in a String, and hopping along with the other, and two Crutches; he begg'd for a Farthing, but I enclining not to give him any Thing, the Fellow follow'd me still, till I came to a Court, when I answer'd hastily to him, I have not for you? Pray don't be so troublesome, with which Words he knock'd me down with his Crutches.

BEING stunn'd with the Blow, I knew nothing what

was done to me afterwards; but coming to myself again, I found I was wounded very frightfully in several Places, and that among the rest my Nose was slit upwards, one of my Ears almost cut off, and a great Cut with a Sword on the Side of the Forehead, also a Stab into the Body, tho' not dangerous.

WHO had been near me, or struck me, besides the Cripple that struck me with his Crutch I knew not, nor do I know to this Hour, but I was terribly wounded, and lay bleeding on the Ground sometime, till coming to myself I got Strength to cry out for Help, and People coming about me, I got some Hands to carry me to my Lodging, where I lay by it more than two Months before I was well enough to go out of Doors, and when I did go out, I had Reason to believe that I was waited for by some Rogues, who watch'd an Opportunity to repeat the Injury I had met with before.

THIS made me very uneasy, and I resolv'd to get myself out of Danger if possible, and to go over to *France*, or Home, as I call'd it, to *Virginia*; so to be out of the Way of Villains and Assassinations, for every Time I stirr'd out here, I thought I went in Danger of my Life, and therefore, as before I went out at Night thinking to be conceal'd, so now I never went out but in open Day, that I might be safe, and never without one or two Servants to be my Life-Guard.

BUT I must do my Wife a Piece of Justice here too, and that was, that hearing of what had befallen me, she wrote me a Letter, in which she treated me more decently than she had been wont to do, said she was very sorry to hear how I had been used, and the rather because she understood it was on presenting her Bill to me; she said she

hop'd I could not in my worst Dispositions think so hardly of her, as to believe it was done by her Knowledge or Consent, much less by her Order or Direction; that she abhorr'd such Things, and protested if she had the least Knowledge, or so much as a Guess at the Villains concern'd she would discover them to me; she let me know the Person's Name to whom she gave the Bill, and where he liv'd, and left it to me to oblige him to discover the Person who had brought it, and used me so ill, and wish'd I might find him, and bring him to Justice, and have him punish'd with the utmost Severity of the Law.

I took this so kindly of my Wife, that I think in my Conscience, had she come after it herself, to see how I did, I had certainly taken her again; but she satisfied herself with the Civility of another Letter, and desiring me to let her know as often as I could how I was, adding, that it would be infinitely to her Satisfaction, to hear I was recover'd of the Hurt I had receiv'd, and that he was hang'd at *Tyburn* who had done it.

SHE used some Expressions, signifying as I understood them, her Affliction at our parting, and her continu'd Respect for me, but did not make any Motion towards returning; then she used some Arguments to move me to pay her Bills, intimating that she had brought me a large Fortune, and now had nothing to subsist, which was very severe.

I WROTE her an Answer to this Letter, tho' I had not to the other, letting her know how I had been used, that I was satisfied upon her Letter, that she had no Hand in it, that it was not in her Nature to treat me so, who had never injur'd her, used any Violence with her, or been the Cause or Desire of our Parting; that as to her Bill, she could not

but know how much her expensive Way of living had straitn'd and reduc'd me, and would if continu'd have ruin'd me, that she had in less than 3 Years spent more than as much as she brought to me, and would not abate her expensive Way, tho' calmly intreated by me, with Protestations, that I could not Support so great an Expence, but chose rather to break up her Family and go from me, than to restrain herself to reasonable Limits, tho' I used no Violence with her, but Entreaties, and earnest Perswasions, back'd with good Reason; letting her know how my Estate was, and convincing her that it must reduce us to Poverty at least; that however, if she would recall her Bill I would send her 30 *l.* which was the Sum mention'd in her Bill, and according to my Ability would not let her want, if she pleased to live within due Bounds; but then I let her know also, that I had a very bad Account of her Conduct, and that she kept Company with a scandalous Fellow, who I nam'd to her; that I was loth to believe such Things of her, but that to put an entire End to the Report, and restore her Reputation, I let her know that still after all I had heard, if she would resolve to live without Restraints, within the reasonable Bounds of my Capacity, and treat me with the same Kindness, Affection, and Tenderness, as I always had treated her, and ever would: I was willing to receive her again, and would forget all that was past; but that if she declin'd me now, it wou'd be for ever, for if she did not accept my Offer, I was resolv'd to stay here no longer, where I had been so ill treated on many Occasions, but was preparing to go into my own Country, where I would spend my Days in quiet, and in a Retreat from the World.

SHE did not give such an Answer to this as I expected;

for tho' she thank'd me for the 30 *l.* yet she insisted upon her Justification in all other Points, and tho' she did not refuse to return to me, yet she did not say she accepted it, and in short, said little or nothing to it, only a kind of Claim to a Reparation of her injur'd Reputation and the like.

THIS gave me some Surprise at first, for I thought indeed, any Woman in her Circumstances would have been very willing to have put an End to all her Miseries, and to the Reproach which was upon her, by a Reconciliation; especially considering, she subsisted at that Time but very meanly: But there was a particular Reason which prevented her Return, and which she cou'd not plead to in her Letter, yet was a good Reason against accepting an Offer, which she would otherwise have been glad of, and this was that as I have mention'd above, she had fallen into bad Company, and had prostituted her Vertue to some of her Flatterers, and in short, was with Child; so that she durst not venture to accept my Offer.

HOWEVER, as I observ'd above, she did not absolutely refuse it, intending (as I understood afterward) to keep the Treaty of it on Foot, till she could drop her Burthen, as she call'd it before; and having been deliver'd privately, have accepted my Proposal afterward; and indeed this was the most prudent Step she cou'd take, or, as we may say, the only Step she had left to take: But I was too many for her here too, my Intelligence about her was too good for her to conceal such an Affair from me, unless she had gone away before she was visibly big, and unless she had gone farther off too than she did, for I had an Account to a Tittle, of the Time when, and Place where, and the Creature of which she was deliver'd, and then my Offers

of taking her again were at an End, tho' she wrote me several penitent Letters, acknowledging her Crime, and begging me to forgive her; but my Spirit was above all that now, nor cou'd I ever bear the Thoughts of her after that, but pursued a Divorce, and accordingly obtain'd it, as I have mention'd already.

THINGS being at this pass, I resolv'd (as I have observ'd above) to go over to *France*, after I had receiv'd my Effects from *Virginia*, and accordingly I came to *Dunkirk* in the Year — and here I fell into Company with some *Irish* Officers of the Regiment of *Dillon*, who by little and little enter'd me into the Army, and by the Help of Lieutenant General — an *Irishman*, and some Money, I obtain'd a Company in his Regiment, and so went into the Army directly.

I was exceedingly pleased with my new Circumstances, and now I used to say to myself, I was come to what I was born to, and that I had never till now liv'd the Life of a Gentleman.

OUR Regiment, after I had been some Time in it, was Commanded into *Italy*, and one of the most considerable Actions that I was in, was the famous Attack upon *Cremona*, in the *Millanese*, where the *Germans* being privately, and by Treachery let into the Town in the Night, thro' a kind of Common Shoar, surpriz'd the Town, and got Possession of the greatest Part of it, surprizing the Mareschal Duke *de Villeroy*, and taking him Prisoner as he came out of his Quarters, and beating the few *French* Troops which were left into the Citadel; but were in the middle of their Victory so boldly and resolutely attack'd by two *Irish* Regiments, who were quarter'd in the Street leading to the River *Po*, and who kept Possession of the

Water-Gate, or *Po* Gate of the Town, by which the *German* Reinforcements should have come in, that after a most desperate Fight, the *Germans* had their Victory wrung out of their Hands, and not being able to break thro' us to let in their Friends, were oblig'd at length to quit the Town again, to the eternal Honour of those *Irish* Regiments, and indeed of their whole Nation, and for which we had a very handsome Compliment from the King of *France*.

I now had the Satisfaction of knowing, and that for the first Time too, that I was not that cowardly low spirited Wretch that I was, when the Fellow bullied me in my Lodgings, about the Bill of 30 *l.* had he attack'd me now, tho' in the very same Condition, I should, naked and unarm'd as I was, have flewn in the Face of him, and trampled him under my Feet; but Men never know themselves till they are tried, and Courage is acquir'd by Time and Experience of Things.

Phillip de Comines tells us, that after the Battle of *Monteleri*, the Count *de Charlois*, who till then had an utter Aversion to the War, and abhorr'd it, and every Thing that belong'd to it, was so chang'd by the Glory he obtain'd in that Action, and by the Flattery of those about him, that afterwards the Army was his Mistress, and the Fatigues of the War his chief Delight; 'tis too great an Example for me to bring in my own Case, but so it was, that they flatter'd me so with my Bravery, as they call'd it, on the Occasion of this Action, that I fancy'd myself brave, whether I was so or not, and the Pride of it made me bold and daring to the last Degree on all Occasions; but what added to it was, that some Body gave a Particular Account to the Court of my being instrumental to the

saving the City, and the whole *Cremonese*, by my extraordinary Defence of the *Po* Gate, and by my managing that Defence after the Lieutenant Colonel, who commanded the Party where I was posted was kill'd; upon which, the King sent me a publick Testimony of his accepting my Service, and sent me a Breviat to be a Lieutenant-Colonel, and the next Courier brought me actually a Commission for Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of —.

I WAS in several Skirmishes and petty Encounters before this, by which I gain'd the Reputation of a good Officer, but I happen'd to be in some particular Posts too, by which I got somewhat that I lik'd much better, and that was a good deal of Money.

OUR Regiment was sent from *France* to *Italy* by Sea, we embark'd at *Tboulon*, and landed at *Savona*, in the Territory of *Genoa*, and marched from thence to the Dutchy of *Milan*: At the first Town we were sent to take Possession of, which was *Alexandria*, the Citizens rose upon our Men in a most furious manner, and drove the whole Garrison, which consisted of 800 Men, that is *French*, and Soldiers in the *French* Service, quite out of Town.

I WAS quarter'd in a Burghers House, just by one of the Ports, with 8 of my Men and a Servant, where calling a short Council with my Men, we was resolved to maintain the House we was in, whatever it cost, till we received Orders to quit it from the Commanding Officer; upon this, when I saw our Men cou'd not stand their Ground in the Street, being pressed hard by the Citizens, I turn'd out of Doors all the Family, and kept the House as a Castle, which I was Governor in; and as the House join'd to the City Gate, I resolv'd to maintain it, so as to be the last

that should quit the Place, my own Retreat being secur'd by being so near the Port.

HAVING thus emptied the House of the Inhabitants, we made no Scruple of filling our Pockets with whatever we could find there, in a Word, we left nothing we could carry away, among which, it came to my Lot to dip into the Burgher's Cabinet, whose House it was where we were, and there I took about the quantity of 200 Pistoles in Money and Plate, and other Things of Value. There was great Complaint made to Prince *Vaudemont*, who was then Governor of the *Millanese* of this Violence; but as the Repulse the Citizens gave us was contrary to his Order, and to the general Design of the Prince, who was then wholly in the Interest of King *Philip*, the Citizens cou'd obtain nothing, and I found, that if we had plunder'd the whole City, it would have been the same Thing; for the Governor had Orders to take our Regiment in, and it was an Act of open Rebellion to resist us as they did; however we had Orders not to fire upon the Burghers, unless constrain'd to it by evidently Necessity, and we rather chose to quit the Place as we did, then dispute it with a desperate Body of Fellows, who wanted no Advantage of us, except only that, of having Possession of two Bastions, and one Port of our Retreat; first they were treble our Number, for the Burghers being joined by 7 Companies of the regular Troops, made up above 1600 Men besides Rabble, which was many more, whereas we were about 800 in all; they also had the Citadel and several Pieces of Cannon, so that we cou'd have made nothing of it, if we had attack'd them; but they submitted 3 or 4 Days after to other Forces, the Soldiers within turning upon them, and taking the Citadel from them.

AFTER this, we lay still in Quarters 8 Months, for the Prince having secur'd the whole *Millanese* for King *Philip*, and no Enemy appearing for some Time, had nothing to do, but to receive the Auxiliar Troops of *France*; and as they came, extend himself every Way as he cou'd, in order to keep the Imperialists (who were preparing to fall into *Italy* with a great Army) as much at a Distance as possible, which he did, by taking Possession of the City of *Mantua*, and of most of the Towns on that Side, as far as the Lake *De la Guarda*, and the River *Addige*.

WE lay in *Mantua* some Time, but were afterwards drawn out by Order of the Count *de Tesse*, (afterwards Marshal of *France*) to form the *French* Army till the Arrival of the Duke *de Vandosme*, who was to Command in Chief. Here we had a severe Campaign, *Anno* 1701. having Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and an Army of 40000 *Germans*, all old Soldiers to deal with, and tho' the *French* Army was more numerous than the Enemy, by 25000 Men, yet being on the defensive, and having so many Posts to cover, not knowing exactly where the Prince of *Savoy*, who commanded the Imperial Army, would attack us, it oblig'd the *French* to keep their Troops so divided, and so remote from one another, that the *Germans* push'd on their Design with great Success, as the Histories of those Times more fully relate.

I WAS at the Action at *Carpi*, *July* 1701, where we were worsted by the *Germans* indeed, were forc'd to quit our Encampment, and give up to the Prince the whole River of *Addige*, and where our Regiment sustain'd some Loss, but the Enemies got little by us, and Monsieur *Catinate*, who Commanded at that Time, drew up in Order of Battle the next Day in Sight of the *German* Army, and gave

them a Defiance, but they would not stir, tho' we offer'd them Battle two Days together, for having gain'd the Passage over the *Addige*, by our quitting *Rivoli*, which was then useless to us, their Business was done.

FINDING they declin'd a decisive Action, our Generals pressed them in their Quarters, and made them fight for every Inch of Ground they gained, and at length in the *September* following, we attack'd them in their entrench'd Posts of *Cbiar*, here we broke into the very Heart of their Camp, where we made a very terrible Slaughter, but I know not by what Mistake among our Generals, or Defect in the Execution of their Orders, the Brigade of *Normandy* and our *Irish* Brigade, who had so bravely enter'd the *German* Entrenchments, were not supported as we should have been, so that we were oblig'd to sustain the shock of the whole *German* Army, and at last to quit the Advantage we had gain'd, and that not without Loss, but being timely reinforced by a great Body of Horse, the Enemy were in their Turn beaten off too, and driven back into their very camp: The *Germans* boasted of having a great Victory here, and indeed in repulsing us after we had gain'd their Camp, they had the Advantage, but had Monsieur *de Tesse* succoured us in Time, as old *Catinat* said he ought to have done, with 12000 Foot which he had with him, that Days Action had put an End to the War, and Prince *Eugene* must have been glad to have gone back to *Germany*, in more Haste than he came, if perhaps we had not cut him short by the Way.

BUT the Fate of Things went another Way, and the *Germans* continu'd all that Campaign to push forward, and advance one Post after another, till they beat us quite out of the *Millanese*.

THE latter Part of this Campaign we made only a party War, the *French*, according to their volatile Temper, being every Day abroad, either foraging or surprizing the Enemy's Foragers, plundering or circumventing the Plunders of the other Side, and that tho' they very often come short Home; for the *Germans* had the better of them on several Occasions, and indeed so many lost their Lives upon those petty Encounters, that I think, including those who died of Distempers gotten by hard Service, and bad Quarters, lying in the Field even till the Middle of *December*, among Rivers and Bogs, in a Country so full of Canals and Rivers, as that Part of *Italy* is known to be, I say, we lost more Men, and so did the Enemy also, than would have been lost in a general decisive Battle.

THE Duke of *Savoy*, to give him his due, press'd earnestly to put it to a Day, and come to a Battle with Prince *Eugene*; but the Duke de *Villeroy*, Monsieur *Catinate*, and the Count de *Tesse*, were all against it, and the principal Reason was, that they knew the Weakness of the Troops, who had suffer'd so much on so many Occasions, that they were in no Condition to give Battle to the *Germans*; so after, as I say, about three Months harrassing one another with Parties, we went into Winter-Quarters.

BEFORE we march'd out of the Field, our Regiment, with a Detachment of Dragoons of 600, and about 250 Horse, went without a Design to intercept Prince *Commercy*, a General of Note under Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*; the Detachment was intended to be only Horse and Dragoons, but because it was the *Imperialists* good Luck to beat many of our Parties, and, as was given out, many more than we beat of theirs; and because it was believed

that the Prince, who was an Officer of good Note among them, would not go Abroad, but in very little Company, the *Irish* Regiment of Foot was order'd to be added, that if possible they might meet with their Match.

I WAS commanded about two Hours before, to pass about 200 Foot, and 50 Dragoons, at a small Wood, where our General had Intelligence that Prince would post some Men, to secure his Passage, which accordingly I did; but Count *Tesse* not thinking our Party strong enough, had march'd himself with a Thousand Horse, and 300 Grenadiers to support us, and it was very well he did so; for Prince *Commercy* having Intelligence of the first Party, came forward sooner than they expected, and fell upon them, and had entirely routed them, had not the Count, (hearing the firing) advanc'd with the Thousand Horse he had with such Expedition, as to support his Men in the very Heat of the Action, by which Means the *Germans* were defeated, and forc'd to retire; but the Prince made a pretty good Retreat, and after the Action, came on to the Wood, where I was posted, but the Surprise of his Defeat had prevented his sending a Detachment to secure the Pass at the Wood, as he intended.

THE Count *de Tesse*, understanding that we were sent (as above) to the Wood, follow'd them close at the Heels, to prevent our being cut off, and if it were possible that we should give them any Check at the Wood, to fall in, and have another Brush with them; it was near Night before they came to the Wood, by which Means they could not discern our Number; but when they came up to the Wood, 50 Dragoons advanc'd to discover the Pass, and see if all was clear: These we suffer'd to pass a great Way into the Defile, or Lane, that went thro' the Wood, and

then clapping in between them and the Entrance, cut off their Retreat so effectually, that when they discover'd us, and fir'd, they were instantly surrounded, and cut in Pieces; the Officer who commanded them, and eight Dragoons only being made Prisoners.

THIS made the Prince halt, not knowing what the Case was, or how strong we were, and to get better Intelligence, sent 200 Horse to surround or skirt the Wood, and beat up our Quarter, and in the Interim, the Count *de Tesse* appear'd in his Rear: We found the Strait he was in, by the Noise of our own Troops at a Distance, so we resolv'd to engage the 200 Horse immediately; accordingly our little Troop of Horse drew up in the Entrance of the Lane, and offer'd to skirmish, and our Foot lying behind the Hedge, which went round the Wood, stood ready to act as Occasion should offer, the Horse being attack'd, gave Way, and retir'd into the Lane, but the *Germans* were too old for us there, they contented themselves to push us to the Entrance, but would not be drawn into a narrow Pass without knowing whether the Hedges were lin'd or no.

BUT the Prince finding the *French* in his Rear, and not being strong enough to engage again, resolv'd to force his Way thro', and commanded his Dragoons to a-light, and enter the Wood, to clear the Hedges on either Side the Lane, that he might pass with his Cavalry; this they did so vigorously, and were so much too strong for us, that tho' we made good our Ground a long Time, yet our Men were almost half of them cut in Pieces. However, we gave Time to the *French* Cavalry to come up, and to fall on the Prince's Troops, and cut them off, and take a great many Prisoners, and then retreated in our Turn, opening a

Gap for our own Horse to break in; 300 of the Dragoons were kill'd, and 200 of them taken Prisoners.

IN the first Heat of this Action, a *German* Officer of Dragoons well follow'd, had knock'd down three Men that stood next me, and offering me Quarter, I was oblig'd to accept it, and gave him my Sword, for our Men were upon the Point of quitting their Post, and shifting every one as they could; but the Scale was turn'd, for our Cavalry breaking in, (as above) the Dragoons went to Wreck, and the Officer who had me Prisoner, turning to me said, *We are all lost*; I asked him if I could serve him? *Stand still a little*, says he; for his Men fought most desperately indeed, but about 200 *French* Horse appearing in his Rear too, he said to me in *French*, *I will be your Prisoner*, and returning me my Sword, gave me also his own; a Dragoon that stood near him was just going to do the like, when he was shot dead, and the Horse coming up, the Field was cleared in an Instant; but Prince *Commercy* went off with the rest of his Party, and was pursued no farther.

THERE were 16 or 17 of our Men releas'd, as I was, from being taken; but they had not the Luck I had, to take the Officer that had them in keeping; he had been so generous to me, as not to ask what Money I had about me, tho' I had not much, if he had; but I lost by his Civility, for then I could not have the Assurance to ask him for his Money, tho' I understood he had near a 100 Pistoles about him; but he very handsomely at Night, when we came to our Tents, made me a Present of 20 Pistoles, and in Return, I obtain'd Leave for him to go to Prince *Eugene's* Camp upon his Parole, which he did, and so got himself exchang'd.

IT was after this Campaign that I was quartered at *Cremona*, when the Action happen'd there, of which I have spoken already, and where our *Irish* Regiment did such Service, that they sav'd the Town from being really surpriz'd, and indeed beat the *Germans* out again, after they had been Masters of three Quarters of the Town six Hours, and by which they gain'd a very great Reputation.

BUT I hasten on to my own History, for I am not writing a Journal of the Wars, in which I had no long Share.

THE Summer after this, our two *Irish* Regiments were drawn out into the Field, and had many a sore Brush with the *Germans*; for Prince *Eugene*, a vigilant General, gave us little Rest, and gain'd many Advantages by his continual moving up and down, harrassing his own Men and ours too; and whoever will do the *French* Justice, and knew how they behaved, must acknowledge, they never declin'd the *Germans*, but fought them upon all Occasions, with the utmost Resolution and Courage; and tho' it cost the Blood of an infinite Number of fine Gentlemen, as well as private Soldiers, yet the Duke *de Vendome*, who now commanded, tho' King *Philip* was himself in the Army this Campaign, made the Prince of *Savoy* a full Return in his own Kind, and drove him from Post to Post, till he was just at the Point of quitting the whole Country of *Italy*; all that gallant Army Prince *Eugene* brought with him into *Italy*, which was the best without doubt, for the Goodness of the Troops, that ever were there, laid their Bones in that Country, and many Thousands more after them; till the Affairs of *France* declining in other Places, they were forc'd in their Turn to give Way to their Fate, as may be seen in the Histories of those Times as above; but 'tis none of my Business.

THE Part that I bore in these Affairs was but short and sharp, we took the Field about the Beginning of *July* 1702, and the Duke *de Vendome* order'd the whole Army to draw the sooner together in order to relieve the City of *Mantua*, which was block'd up by the *Imperialists*.

PRINCE *Eugene* was a Politick, and indeed a fortunate Prince, and had the Year before pushed our Army upon many Occasions; but his good Fortune began to fail him a little this Year, for our Army was not only more Numerous than his, but the Duke was in the Field before him; and as the Prince had held *Mantua* closely block'd up all the Winter, the Duke resolved to relieve the Town, cost what it would: As I said, the Duke was first in the Field, the Prince was in no Condition to prevent his raising the Blockade by Force; so he drew off his Troops, and leaving several strong Bodies of Troops to protect *Bersello*, which the Duke *de Vendome* threaten'd, and *Borgofort*, where his Magazine lay, he drew all the rest of his Forces together, to make Head against us; by this Time the King of *Spain* was come into the Army, and the Duke *de Vendome* lay, with about 35000 Men, near *Luzara*, which he had resolv'd to attack, to bring Prince *Eugene* to a Battle: The Prince of *Vaudemont* lay entrench'd with 20000 more at *Rivalto*, behind *Mantua*, to cover the Frontiers of *Millan*, and there was near 12000 in *Mantua* itself; and Monsieur *Pracontal* lay with 10000 Men just under the Cannon of one of the Forts, which guard the Causeway, which leads into the City of *Mantua*: So that had all these join'd, as they would have done in a few Days more, the Prince must have been put to his Shifts, and would have had enough to do, to have maintain'd himself in *Italy*; for he was Master of no one Place in the Country, that could

have held out a formal Siege of fifteen Days open Trenches, and he knew all this very well; and therefore, it seems, while the Duke of *Vendosme* resolv'd, if possible, to bring him to a Battle, and to that End, made Dispositions to attack *Luzara*; we were surpriz'd to find the 15th of *June*, 1702, the whole Imperial Army appear'd in *Batalia*, and in full March to attack us.

As it happen'd, our Army was all marching in Columns towards them, as we had done for two Days before, and I should have told you, that three Days before, the Duke having Notice that General *Visconti*, with three Imperial Regiments of Horse, and one of Dragoons, was posted at *San-Victoria*, on the *Tessona*; he resolv'd to attack them, and this Design was carried so secretly, that while Monsieur *Visconti*, tho' our Army was three Leagues another Way, passing towards the *Modenese*, he found himself unexpectedly attack'd by 6000 Horse and Dragoons of the *French* Army: He defended himself very bravely, for near an Hour; when being over-power'd, and finding he should be forc'd into Disorder, he sounded a Retreat; but the Squadrons had not fac'd about to make their Retreat, scarce a Quarter of an Hour, when they found themselves surrounded with a great Body of Infantry, who had entirely cut off their Retreat, except over the Bridge of *Tessona*, which being throng'd with their Baggage, they could neither get backward or forward; so they thrust and tumbled over one another, in such a Manner, that they could preserve no kind of Order; but abundance fell into the River, and were drowned, many were kill'd, and more taken Prisoners; so that in a Word, the whole three Regiments of Horse, and one of Dragoons, were entirely defeated.

THIS was a great Blow to the Prince, because they were some of the choicest Troops of his whole Army: We took about 400 Prisoners, and all their Baggage, which was a very considerable Booty, and about 800 Horses; and no doubt these Troops were very much wanted in the Battle that insued on the 15th, as I have said: Our Army being in full March (as above) to attack *Luzara*, a Party of *Germans* appear'd, being about 600 Horse, and in less than an Hour more, their whole Army in order of Battle.

OUR Army form'd immediately, and the Duke posted the Regiments as they came up, so much to their Advantage, that Prince *Eugene* was oblig'd to alter his Dispositions, and had this particular Inconvenience upon his Hands, *viz.* to attack an Army superior to his own, in all their most advantageous Posts; whereas had he thought fit to have waited but one Day, we should have met him half Way; but this was owing to the Pride of the *German* Generals, and their being so opinionated of the Goodness of their Troops: The Royal Army was posted with the Left to the great River *Po*, on the other Side of which the Prince of *Vaudemont's* Army lay, canonading of the Intrenchments which the *Imperialists* had made at *Borgo-Fort*, and hearing that there was like to be a general Battle, he detach'd 12 Battalions, and about 1000 Horse, to reinforce the Royal Army; all which, to our great Encouragement, had Time to join the Army, while Prince *Eugene* was making his new Dispositions for the Attack; and yet it was the coming of these Troops which caus'd Prince *Eugene* to resolve to begin the Fight, expecting to have come to an Action before they cou'd come up, but he was disappointed in the Reason of Fighting, and yet

was oblig'd to Fight too, which was an Error in the Prince, that it was too late to retrieve.

It was Five o'Clock in the Evening before he could bring up his whole Line to Engage; and then, after having canonaded us to no great Purpose for half an Hour, his Right, commanded by the Prince *de Commercy*, attack'd our left Wing with great Fury: Our Men receiv'd them so well, and seconded one another so punctually, that they were repulsed with a very great Slaughter, and the Prince *Commercy* being (unhappily for them) kill'd in the first Onset, the Regiments for want of Orders, and surpriz'd with the Fall of so great a Man, were push'd into Disorder, and one whole Brigade was entirely broke.

BUT their second Line advancing, under General *Herbeville*, restor'd Things in the first; the Battalions rallied, and they came boldly on to charge a second Time, and being seconded, with new Reinforcements from their main Body, our Men had their Turn, and were push'd to a Canal, which lay on their left Flank, between them and the *Po*, behind which they rallied, and being supported by new Troops, as well Horse as Foot, they fought on both Sides with the utmost Obstinacy, and with such Courage and Skill, that it was not possible to judge who should have had the better, could they have been able to have fought it out.

ON the Right of the Royal Army, was posted the Flower of the *French* Cavalry; namely, the *Gens de Arms*, the Royal Carabineers, and the Queen's Horse-Guards, with 400 Horse more, and next them the Infantry, among which were our Brigade; the Horse advanc'd first to Charge, and they carried all before them Sword in Hand, receiving the Fire of two Imperial Regiments of Curias-

sers, without firing a Shot, and falling in among them, bore them down by the Strength of their Horses, putting them into Confusion, and left so clear a Field for us to follow, that the first Line of our Infantry stood drawn up upon the Ground, which the Enemy at first possess'd.

IN this first Attack the Marquis *de Crequi*, who commanded the whole Right Wing, was killed; a Loss, which fully ballanc'd the Death of the Prince *de Commercy*, one the Side of the *Germans*; after we had thus pushed the Enemies Cavalry, (as above) their Troops, being rallied by the Dexterity of their Generals, and supported by three Imperial Regiments of Foot, they came on again to the Charge with such Fury, that nothing could withstand them; and here two Battalions of our *Irish* Regiments were put into Disorder, and abundance of our Men kill'd; and here also I had the Misfortune to receive a Musquet-Shot, which broke my left Arm; and, that was not all, for I was knock'd down by a Giant like a *German* Soldier, who, when he thought he had kill'd me, set his Foot upon me, but was immediately shot dead by one of my Men, and fell just upon me, which, my Arm being broken, was a very great Mischief to me; for the very Weight of the Fellow, who was almost as big as a Horse, was such, that I was not able to stir.

OUR Men were beaten back after this, from the Place where they stood, and so I was left in Possession of the Enemy, but was not their Prisoner, (that is to say, was not found) till next Morning, when a Party being sent, as usual, with Surgeons to look after the wounded Men, among the Dead, found me almost smothered with the dead *Germans*, and others that lay near me; however, to do them Justice, they us'd me with Humanity, and the

Surgeons set my Arm very skilfully, and well; and after four or five Days, I had Liberty to go to *Parma* upon my Parole.

BOTH the Armies continued fighting, especially on our Left, till it was so dark, that it was impossible to know who they fir'd at, or for the Generals to see what they did; so they abated firing gradually, and as it may be truly said, the Night parted them.

BOTH Sides claim'd the Victory, and both conceal'd their Losses, as much as was possible; but 'tis certain, that never Battle was fought with greater Bravery and Obstinacy than this was, and had there been Day-light to have fought it out, doubtless there would have been many Thousand more Men kill'd on both Sides.

ALL the *Germans* had, to entitle them to the Victory was, that they made our Left retire, as I have said, to the Canal, and to the high Banks, or Mounds on the Edge of the *Po*; but they had so much Advantage in the Retreat, they fir'd from thence among the thickest of the Enemy, and cou'd never be forc'd from their Posts.

THE best Testimony the Royal Army had of the Victory, and which was certainly the better of the two, was, that two Days after the Fight, they attack'd *Guaſtalia*, as it were in View of the *German* Army, and forc'd the *Garrison* to surrender, and to swear not to serve again for six Months, which, they being 1500 Men, was a great Loss to the *Germans*, and yet Prince *Eugene* did not offer to relieve it; and after that we took several other Posts, which the *Imperialists* had Possession of, but were oblig'd to quit them upon the Approach of the *French* Army, not being in a Condition to fight another Battle that Year.

My Campaign was now at an End, and tho' I came

Lame off, I came off much better than abundance of Gentlemen; for in that bloody Battle we had above 400 Officers kill'd or wounded, whereof three were General Officers.

THE Campaign held on till *December*, and the Duke *de Vendome* took *Borgo-Fort*, and several other Places from the *Germans*, who, in short lost Ground every Day in *Italy*; I was a Prisoner a great while, and there being no *Chartel* settled, Prince *Eugene* order'd the *French* Prisoners to be sent into *Hungary*, which was a Cruelty that could not be reasonably exercised on them; however, a great many, by that Banishment, found Means to make their Escape to the *Turks*, by whom they were kindly receiv'd, and the *French* Ambassador at *Constantinople* took Care of them, and shipp'd them back again into *Italy* at the King's Charge.

BUT the Duke *de Vendome* now took so many *Germans* Prisoners, that Prince *Eugene* was tir'd of sending his Prisoners to *Hungary*, and was oblig'd to be at the Charge of bringing some of them back again, who he had sent thither, and come to agree to a general Exchange of Prisoners.

I WAS, as I have said, allow'd for a Time to go to *Parma*, upon my Parole, where I continu'd for the Recovery of my Wound, and broken Arm, forty Days and was then oblig'd to render myself to the commanding Officer at *Ferrara*, where Prince *Eugene* coming soon after, I was, with several other Prisoners of War, sent away into the *Milanese*, to be kept for an Exchange of Prisoners.

IT was in the City of *Trent*, that I continu'd about eight Months, the Man, in whose House I quartered, was exceeding civil to me, and took a great deal of Care of me,

and I liv'd very easy; here I contracted a kind of Familiarity, perfectly undesign'd by me, with the Daughter of the Burgher, at whose House I had lodg'd, and I know not, by what Fatality that was upon me, I was prevail'd with afterward to marry her: This was a Piece of Honesty on my Side, which I must acknowledge, I never intended to be guilty of; but the Girl was too cunning for me; for she found Means to get some Wine into my Head more than I us'd to drink, and tho' I was not so disorder'd with it, but that I knew very well what I did, yet in an unusual Height of good Humour, I consented to be Married. This impolitick Piece of Honesty put me to many Inconveniences, for I knew not what to do with this new Clog, which I had loaded myself with, I could neither stay with her, or take her with me, so that I was exceedingly perplex'd.

THE Time came soon after that I was releas'd by the *Chartel*, and so was oblig'd to go to the Regiment, which then was in Quarters in the *Milanese*, and from thence I got Leave to go to *Paris*, upon my Promise to raise some Recruits in *England*, for the *Irish* Regiments by the help of my Correspondence there; having thus Leave to go to *Paris*, I took a Passport from the Enemy's Army, to go to *Trent*, and making a long Circuit, I went back thither, and very honestly pack'd up my Baggage, Wife and all, and brought her away thro' *Tyrol*, into *Bavaria*, and so thro' *Suabia*, and the *black Forest* into *Alsatia*, from thence I came into *Lorraine*, and so to *Paris*.

I HAD now a secret Design to quit the War, for I really had enough of fighting; but it was counted so dishonourable a Thing to quit, while the Army was in the Field, that I could not dispense with it; but an intervening Acci-

dent made that Part easy to me: The War was now renewed between *France*, and *England*, and *Holland*, just as it was before; and the *French* King meditating nothing more than how to give the *English* a Diversion, fitted out a strong Squadron of Men of War and Frigates, at *Dunkirk*, on Board of which he embark'd a Body of Troops, of about 6500 Men, besides Voluntiers; and the new King, as we call'd him, tho' more generally he was call'd, the *Chevalier de St. George*, was shipp'd along with them, and all for *Scotland*.

I PRETENDED a great deal of Zeal for this Service, and that if I might be permitted to sell my Company in the *Irish* Regiment I was in, and have the *Chevalier's* Brevet for a Colonel, in Case of raising Troops for him in *Great-Britain*, after his Arrival, I would embark Voluntier, and serve at my own Expence; the latter gave me a great Advantage with the *Chevalier*; for now I was esteem'd as a Man of Consideration, and one that must have a considerable Interest in my own Country; so I obtain'd Leave to sell my Company, and having had a good round Sum of Money remitted me from *London*, by the Way of *Holland*, I prepar'd a very handsome Equipage, and away I went to *Dunkirk* to embark.

I WAS very well receiv'd by the *Chevalier*, and as he had an Account that I was an Officer in the *Irish* Brigade, and had serv'd in *Italy*, and consequently was an old Soldier; all this added to the Character which I had before, and made me have a great deal of Honour paid me, tho' at the same Time I had no particular Attachment to his Person, or to his Cause; nor indeed did I much consider the Cause, of one Side or other, if I had, I should hardly have risqu'd, not my Life only, but Effects too, which were all, as I

might say, from that Moment, forfeited to the *English* Government, and was too evidently in their Power to confiscate at their Pleasure.

HOWEVER, having just receiv'd a Remittance from *London*, of 300 *l.* Sterling, and sold my Company in the *Irish* Regiment for very near as much, I was not only insensibly drawn in, but was perfectly Voluntier in that dull Cause, and away I went with them at all Hazards; it belongs very little to my History to give an Account of that fruitless Expedition, only to tell you, that being so closely and effectually chas'd by the *English* Fleet, which was superior in Force to the *French*, I may say, that in escaping them, I escaped being hang'd.

It was the good Fortune of the *French*, that they over-shot the Port they aim'd at, and intending for the *Frith* or *Forth*, or as it is called, the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, the first Land they made was as far North as a Place call'd *Montrose*, where it was not their Business to Land, and so they were oblig'd to come back to the *Frith*, and were gotten to the Entrance of it, and came to an Anchor for the Tide; but this Delay or Hinderance gave Time to the *English*, under *Sir George Bing*, to come to the *Frith*, and they came to an Anchor, just as we did, only waiting to go up the *Frith* with the Flood.

HAD we not over-shot the Port, as above, all our Squadron had been destroy'd in two Days, and all we could have done, had been to have gotten into the *Peer* or *Haven* at *Leith*, with the smaller Frigates, and have landed the Troops and Ammunition; but we must have set Fire to the Men of War, for the *English* Squadron was not above 24 Hours behind us, or thereabout.

UPON this Surprise, the *French* Admiral set sail from

the North Point of the *Firth*, where we lay, and crowding away to the North, got the Start of the *English* Fleet, and made their Escape, with the Loss of one Ship only, which being behind the rest, could not get away; when we were satisfied the *English* left chasing us, which was not till the third Night, when we alter'd our Course, and lost Sight of them, we stood over to the Coast of *Norway*, and keeping that Shore on Board all the Way to the Mouth of the *Baltick*, we came to an Anchor again, and sent two Scouts Abroad to learn News, to see if the Sea was clear, and being satisfied that the Enemy did not chase us, we kept on with an easier Sail, and came all back again to *Dunkirk*, and glad I was to set my Foot on Shore again; for all the while we were thus flying for our Lives, I was under the greatest Terror imaginable, and nothing but Halts and Gibbets run in my Head, concluding, that if I had been taken, I should certainly have been hang'd.

BUT the Care was now over, I took my Leave of the *Chevalier*, and of the Army, and made haste to *Paris*: I came so unexpectedly to *Paris*, and to my own Lodgings, that it was my Misfortune to make a Discovery, relating to my Wife, which was not at all to my Satisfaction; for I found her Ladyship had kept some Company, that I had Reason to believe were not such as an honest Woman ought to have convers'd with, and as I knew her Temper, by what I had found of her myself, I grew very jealous and uneasy about her; I must own it touch'd me very nearly, for I began to have an extraordinary Value for her, and her Behaviour was very taking, especially after I had brought her into *France*; but having a Vein of Levity, it was impossible to prevent her running into such Things, in a Town, so full of what they call Gallantry as *Paris*.

IT vext me also to think that it should be my Fate to be a Cuckold, both Abroad and at Home, and sometimes I would be in such a Rage about it, that I had no Government of myself, when I thought of it; whole Days, and I ay say sometimes whole Nights, I spent musing and considering what I should do to her, and especially what I should do to the Villain, wherever he was, that had thus abus'd and supplanted me: Here indeed I committed Murder more than once, or indeed than a hundred Times, in my Imagination, and as the Devil is certainly an apparent Prompter to Wickedness, if he is not the first Mover of it in our Minds; he teiz'd me Night and Day with Proposals to kill my Wife.

THIS horrid Project he carried up so high, by raising fierce Thoughts, and fomenting the Blood upon my Contemplation of the Word Cuckold, that in short, I left debating whether I should Murder her or no, as a Thing out of the Question, and determin'd; and my Thoughts were then taken up only with the Management how I should kill her, and how to make my Escape after I had done it.

ALL this while I had no sufficient Evidence of her Guilt, neither had I so much as charg'd her with it, or let her know I suspected her, otherwise than as she might perceive it in my Conduct, and in the Change of my Behaviour to her, which was such, that she could not but perceive that something troubled me, yet she took no Notice of it to me, but receiv'd me very well, and shew'd herself to be glad of my Return; nor did I find she had been extravagant in her Expences while I was Abroad; but *Jealousy*, as the wise Man says, *is the Wrath of a Man*; her being so good a Hussy of what Money I had left her, gave my distemper'd Fancy an Opinion that she had been

maintain'd by other People, and so had had no Occasion to spend.

I MUST confess, she had a difficult Point here upon her, tho' she had been really honest; for as my Head was prepossess'd of her Dishonesty, if she had been lavish, I should have said, she had spent it upon her Gentlemen; and as she had been frugal, I said, she had been maintain'd by them: Thus, I say, my Head was distemper'd, I believ'd myself abus'd, and nothing could put it out of my Thoughts Night or Day.

ALL this while, it was not visibly broken out between us, but I was so fully possess'd with the Belief of it, that I seem'd to want no Evidence, and I look'd with an evil Eye upon every Body that came near her, or that she convers'd with: There was an Officer of the *Guards du Corps*, that lodg'd in the same House with us, a very honest Gentleman, and a Man of Quality; I happen'd to be in a little Drawing-Room, adjoining to a Parlour where my Wife sat at that Time, and this Gentleman came into the Parlour, which, as he was one of the Family, he might have done without Offence, but he not knowing that I was in the Drawing-Room, sat down and talk'd with my Wife; I heard every Word they said, for the Door between us was open, nor could I say that there pass'd any Thing between them, but cursory Discourse; they talk'd of casual Things, of a young Lady, a Burgher's Daughter of Nineteen, that had been Married the Week before to an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, vastly Rich, and about 63; and of another, a Widow Lady of Fortune in *Paris*, that had married her deceas'd Husband's Valet de Chambre, and of such casual Matters, that I could find no Fault with her now at all.

BUT it fill'd my Head with jealous Thoughts, and fir'd my Temper: Now I fancy'd he us'd too much Freedom with her, then that she us'd too much Freedom to him, and once or twice I was upon the Point of breaking in upon them, and affronting them both, but I restrain'd myself; at length he talk'd something merrily of the Lady throwing away her Maidenhead, as I understood it, upon an old Man; but still it was nothing indecent; but I, who was all on Fire already, could bear it no longer, but started up, and came into the Room, and catching at my Wife's Words, *Say you so, Madam*, said I, *was he too old for her?* And giving the Officer a Look, that I fancy was something a-kin to the Face on the Sign, call'd the *Bull and Mouth* within *Aldersgate*, I went out into the Street.

THE Marquis, so he was stil'd, a Man of Honour, and of Spirit too, took it as I meant it, and follow'd me in a Moment, and hem'd after me in the Street; upon which I stopp'd, and he came up to me, *Sir*, said he, *our Circumstances are very unhappy in France, that we cannot do ourselves Justice here, without the most severe Treatment in the World; but come on it what will, you must explain yourself to me on the Subject of your Behaviour just now.*

I WAS a little cool'd, as to the Point of my Conduct to him in the very few Moments that had pass'd, and was very sensible, that I was wrong to him, and I said therefore to him very frankly, *Sir*, you are a Gentleman, who I know very well, and I have a very great Respect for you; but I had been disturb'd a little about the Conduct of my Wife, and were it your own Case, what would you have done less?

I AM sorry for any Dislike between you, and your Wife, says he, but what is that to me? Can you charge me with

any Indecency to her, except my talking so and so, at which he repeated the Words, and as I knew you were in the next Room, and heard every Word, and that all the Doors were open, I thought no Man could have taken amiss so innocent an Expression.

I COULD no otherwise take it amiss, said I, than as I thought it imply'd a farther Familiarity, and that you cannot expect should be born by any Man of Honour; however, Sir, said I, I spoke only to my Wife, I said nothing to you, but gave you my Hat as I pass'd you.

YES, said he, and a Look as full of Rage as the Devil, Are there no Words in such Looks?

I CAN say nothing to that, said I, for I cannot see my own Countenance; but my Rage, as you call it, was at my Wife, not at you.

BUT hark you Sir, said he, (growing warm as I grow calm) your Anger at your Wife was for her Discourse with me, and I think that concerns me too, and I ought to resent it.

I THINK not Sir, said I, nor had I found you in Bed with my Wife, would I have quarrel'd with you; for if my Wife will let you lie with her, 'tis she is the Offender, what have I to do with you? You could not lie with her if she was not willing, and if she is willing to be a Whore, I ought to punish her; but I should have no Quarrel with you, I'll lie with your Wife if I can, and then I'm even with you.

I SPOKE this all in good Humour, and in order to pacify him, but it would not do; but he would have me give him Satisfaction, as he call'd it, I told him I was a Stranger in the Country, and perhaps should find little Mercy in their Course of Justice; that it was not my Business to

fight any Man in his vindicating his keeping Company with my Wife, for that the Injury was mine, in having a bad Woman to deal with; that there was no Reason in the Thing, that after any Man should have found the Way into my Bed, I, who am injur'd, should go and stake my Life upon an equal Hazard against the Men who have abus'd me.

Nothing would prevail with this Person to be quiet for all this; but I had affronted him, and no Satisfaction could be made him, but that at the Point of the Sword; so we agreed to go away together to *Lisle* in *Flanders*: I was now Soldier enough not to be afraid to look a Man in the Face, and as the Rage at my Wife inspir'd me with Courage, so he let fall a Word that fir'd and provok'd me beyond all Patience; for speaking of the Distrust I had of my Wife, he said unless I had good Information, I ought not to suspect my Wife: I told him, if I had good Information, I should be past Suspicion; he replied, if he was the happy Man that had so much of her Favour, he would take Care then to put me past the Suspicion; I gave him as rough an Answer as he could desire, and he return'd in *French*, *Nous Verrons aux Lisle*, that is to say, We will talk further of it at *Lisle*.

I TOLD him, I did not see the Benefit either to him or me, of going so far as *Lisle* to decide this Quarrel, since now I perceiv'd he was the Man I wanted, that we might decide this Quarrel *aux Champ*, upon the Spot, and whoever had the Fortune to fell the other, might make his Escape to *Lisle*, as well afterwards as before.

THUS we walk'd on, talking very ill-naturedly on both Sides, and yet very mannerly, till we came clear of the *Suburbs* of *Paris*, on the Way so *Charenton*; when seeing

the Way clear, I told him under those Trees was a very fit Place for us, pointing to a Row of Trees adjoining to Monsieur ———'s Garden Wall; so we went thither, and fell to Work immediately, after some Fencing he made a home Thrust at me, and run me into my Arm, a long slaunting Wound, but at the same Time receiv'd my Point into his Body, and soon after fell; he spoke some Words before he dropp'd; first he told me I had kill'd him, than he said, he had indeed wrong'd me, and as he knew it, he ought not to have fought me; he desir'd I would make my Escape immediately, which I did into the City, but no farther, no Body as I thought having seen us together: In the Afternoon, about six Hours after the Action, Messengers brought News, one on the Heels of another, that the Marquis was mortally wounded, and carried into a House at *Charenton*; that Account, saying he was not dead, surprized me a little, not doubting, but that concluding I had made my Escape, he would own who it was; however, I discovered nothing of my Concern, but going up into my Chamber, I took out of a Cabinet there what Money I had, which indeed was so much as I thought would be sufficient for my Expences; but having an accepted Bill for 2000 Livres, I walk'd sedately to a Merchant who knew me, and got 50 Pistoles of him upon my Bill, letting him know my Business call'd me to *England*, and I would take the rest of him when he had receiv'd it.

HAVING furnish'd myself thus, I provided me a Horse for my Servant, for I had one very good one of my own, and once more ventured Home to my Lodging, where I heard again that the Marquis was not dead: My Wife all this while cover'd her Concern for the Marquis so well,

that she gave me no Room to make any Remark upon her; but she saw evidently the Marks of Rage and deep Resentment in my Behaviour after some little Stay, and perceiving me making Preparations for a Journey, she said to me, Are you going out of Town? Yes Madam, say I, that you may have Room to mourn for your Friend the Marquis, at which she started, and shew'd she was indeed in a most terrible Fright, and making a thousand Crosses about herself, and with a great many Callings upon the blessed *Virgin*, and her Country *Saints*, she burst out at last, is it possible! Are you the Man that kill'd the Marquis? Then you are undone and I too.

You may Madam, be a Loser by the Marquis being kill'd, but I'll take Care to be as little a Looser by you as I can; 'tis enough the Marquis has honestly confessed your Guilt, and I have done with you; she would have thrown herself into my Arms, protesting her Innocence, and told me she would fly with me, and would convince me of her Fidelity, by such Testimonies as I could not be satisfied with, but I thrust her violently from me, *Alle Infame!* said I, go infamous Creature, and take from me the Necessity I shou'd be under if I stay'd, of sending you to keep Company with your dear Friend the Marquis. I thrust her away with such Force, that she fell backward upon the Floor, and cried out most terribly, and indeed she had Reason, for she was very much hurt.

It grieved me indeed to have thrust her away with such Force, but you must consider me now in the Circumstances of a Man enrag'd, and as it were out of himself, furious and mad: However, I took her up from the Floor, and laid her on the Bed, and calling up her Maid, bid her go and take Care of her Mistress; and going soon after

out of Doors, I took Horse, and made the best of my Way not towards *Calais* or *Dunkirk*, or towards *Flanders*, whether it might be suggested I was fled, and whether they did pursue me the same Evening; but I took the direct Road for *Lorraine*, and riding all Night, and very hard, I passed the *Main* the next Day at Night at *Chalons*, and came safe into the Duke of *Lorraine's* Dominions the third Day, where I rested one Day, only to consider what Course to take, for it was still a most difficult Thing to pass any Way, but that I should either be in the King of *France's* Dominions, or be taken by the *French* Allies as a Subject of *France*; but getting good Advice from a Priest at *Bar le Duc*, who, tho' I did not tell him the Particulars of my Case, yet guessed how it was, it being as he said, very usual for Gentlemen in my Circumstances to fly that Way: Upon this Supposition, this kind *Padre* got me a Church Pass, that is to say, he made me a Purveyor for the Abbey of —, and as such, got me a Passport to go to *Deux Ponts*, which belonged to the King of *Sweden*. Having such Authority there, and the Priest's Recommendation to an Ecclesiastick in the Place, I got Passports from thence in the King of *Sweden's* Name to *Cologne*, and then I was thoroughly safe, so making my Way to the *Netherlands*, without any Difficulty I came to the *Hague*, and from thence, tho' very privately, and by several Names, I came to *England*: And thus I got clear of my *Italian* Wife, Whore, I should have call'd her, for after I had made her so myself, how should I expect any other of her?

BEING arriv'd at *London*, I wrote to my Friend at *Paris*, but dated my Letter from the *Hague*, where I order'd him to direct his Answers: The chief Business of my

writing was, to know if my Bill was paid him, to enquire if any Pursuit was made after me, and what other News he had about me, or my Wife, and particularly how it had far'd with the Marquis.

I RECEIV'D an Answer in a few Days, importing that he had receiv'd the Money on my Bill, which he was ready to pay as I should direct, that the Marquis was not dead, but said he, you have kill'd him another Way, for he has lost his Commission in the Guards, which was worth to him 20000 *Livres*, and he is yet a close Prisoner in the *Bastile*; that Pursuit was order'd after me, upon Suspicion, that they had followed me to *Amiens*, on the Road to *Dunkirk*, and to *Chasteau de Cambresis*, on the Way to *Flanders*; but missing me that Way, had given it over; that the Marquis had been too well instructed to own that he had fought with me, but said, that he was assaulted on the Road, and unless I could be taken, he would take his Trial and come off, for want of Proof, that my flying was a Circumstance indeed that mov'd strongly against him, because it was known that we had had some Words that Day, and were seen to walk together; but that nothing being prov'd on either Side, he would come off with the Loss of his Commission, which, however, being very rich, he could bear well enough.

As to my Wife he wrote me Word she was inconsolable, and had cry'd herself to Death almost; but he added, (very ill-natur'd indeed) and whether it was for me, or for the Marquis, that he could not determine: He likewise told me, she was in very bad Circumstances, and very low, so that if I did not take some Care of her, she would come to be in very great Distress.

THE latter Part of this Story mov'd me indeed, for I

thought however it was, I ought not to let her starve; and besides, Poverty was a Temptation which a Woman could not easily withstand, and I ought not to be the Instrument to drive her to a horrid Necessity of Crime, if I could prevent it.

UPON this, I wrote to him again, to go to her, and talk with her, and learn as much as he could of her particular Circumstances; and that if he found she was really in Want, and particularly, that she did not live a scandalous Life, he should give her 20 Pistoles, and tell her, if she would engage to live retir'd and honestly, she should have so much annually, which was enough to subsist her.

SHE took the first 20 Pistoles, but bad him tell me, that I had wrong'd her, and unjustly charg'd her, and I ought to do her Justice; and I had ruin'd her by exposing her in such a Manner as I had, having no Proof of my Charge, or Ground for any Suspicion; that as to 20 Pistoles a Year, it was a mean Allowance, to a Wife that had travelled over the World, as she had done with me, and the like; and so expostulated with him to obtain 40 Pistoles a Year of me, which I consented to; but she never gave me the Trouble of paying above one Year, for after that, the Marquis was so fond of her again that he took her away to himself; and as my Friend wrote me Word, had settled 400 Crowns a Year on her, and I never heard any more of her.

I WAS now in *London*, but was oblig'd to be very retir'd, and change my Name, letting no Body in the Nation know who I was, except my Merchant, by whom I corresponded with my People in *Virginia*, and particularly that my Tutor, who was now become the Head Manager of my Affairs, and was in very good Circumstances him-

self also by my Means; but he deserved all I did, or cou'd do for him; for he was a most faithful Friend as well as Servant, as ever Man had, in that Country at least.

I WAS not the easiest Man alive, in the retir'd solitary manner I now liv'd in; and I experienc'd the Truth of the Text, *That it is not good for Man to be alone*, for I was extremely melancholy and heavy, and indeed knew not what to do with myself, particularly, because I was under some Restraint, that I was too afraid to go abroad, at last I resolv'd to go quite away, and go to *Virginia* again, and there live retired as I could.

BUT when I came to consider that Part more narrowly, I could not prevail with myself to live a private Life: I had got a wandering kind of Taste and Knowledge of Things, begat a Desire of encreasing it, and an exceeding Delight I had in it, tho' I had nothing to do in the Armies or in War, and did not design ever to meddle with it again; yet I could not live in the World, and not enquire what was doing in it, nor could I think of living in *Virginia*, where I was to hear my News twice a Year, and read the publick Accounts of what was just then upon the Stocks, as the History of Things past.

THIS was my Notion, I was now in my Native Country, where my Circumstances were easy, and tho' I had ill Luck Abroad, for I brought little Home with me, yet by little good Management I might soon have Money by me. I had no Body to keep but myself and my Plantations in *Virginia*, generally return'd me from 400 to 600 *l.* a Year, one Year above 700 *l.* and to go thither I concluded, was to be buried alive; so I put off all Thoughts of it, and resolv'd to settle somewhere in *England*, where I might know every Body, and no Body know me. I was not long

in concluding where to pitch, for as I spoke the *French* Tongue perfectly well, having been so many Years among them, it was easy for me to pass for a *Frenchman*; so I went to *Canterbury*, call'd myself an *Englishman* among the *French*, and a *Frenchman* among the *English*; and on that Score was the more perfectly conceal'd, going by the Name of Monsieur *Charnot*, with the *French*, was call'd Mr. *Charnock* among the *English*.

HERE indeed I liv'd perfectly *Incog*. I made no particular Acquaintance so as to be intimate, and yet I knew every Body, and every Body knew me, I discoursed in common, talk'd *French* with the *Walloons*, and *English* with the *English*; and liv'd retir'd and sober, was well enough receiv'd by all Sorts, but as I meddled with no Bodies Business, so no Body meddl'd with mine, I thought I liv'd pretty well.

BUT I was not fully satisfied, a settled Family Life was the Thing I lov'd, had made two pushes at it, as you have heard, but with ill Success; yet the Miscarriage of what was pass'd did not discourage me at all, but I resolv'd to marry, I look'd out for a Woman as suitable as I could, but always found something or other to shock my Fancy; except once a Gentleman's Daughter of good Fashion, but I met with so many Repulses of one kind or another, that I was forc'd to give it over, and indeed, tho' I might be said to be a Lover in this Suit, and had manag'd myself so well with the young Lady, that I had no difficulty left, but what would soon have been adjusted, yet her Father was so difficult, made so many Objections, was to Day not pleased, one Way To-morrow another, that he would stand by nothing that he himself had proposed, nor could he be ever brought to be of the same Mind two Days to-

gether; so that we at last put an End to the Pretensions, for she would not marry without her Father's Consent, and I would not steal her, and so that Affair ended.

I CANNOT say but I was a little vex'd at the Disappointment of this, so I left the City of *Canterbury*, and went to *London* in the Stage-Coach; here I had an odd Scene presented as ever happen'd of its kind.

THERE was in the Stage-Coach a young Woman and her Maid, she was sitting in a very melancholly Posture, for she was in the Coach before me, and sigh'd most dreadfully all the Way, and whenever her Maid spoke to her, she burst out into Tears; I was not long in the Coach with her, but seeing she made such a dismal Figure, I offer'd to comfort her a little, and enquired into the Occasion of her Affliction, but she wou'd not speak a Word; but her Maid with a Force of crying too, said her Master was dead, at which Word the Lady burst out again into a Passion of crying, and between Mistress and Maid, this was all I could get for the Morning part of that Day: When we came to Dine, I offer'd the Lady, that seeing I supposed, she would not dine with the Company, if she would please to dine with me, I would dine in a separate Room, for the rest of the Company were Foreigners: Her Maid thank'd me in her Mistresses Name, but her Mistress could eat nothing, and desir'd to be private.

HERE however, I had some Discourse with the Maid, by whom I learn'd that the Lady was Wife to a Captain of a Ship, who was outward Bound to somewhere in the *Streights*, I think it was to *Zant* and *Venice*, that being gone no farther than the *Downs*, he was taken sick, and after about 10 Days Illness had died at *Deal*, that his Wife hearing of his Sickness, had gone to *Deal* to see

him, and had come but just Time enough to see him die, had stay'd there to bury him, and was now coming to *London* in a sad disconsolate Condition indeed.

I HEARTILY pitied the young Gentlewoman indeed, and said some Things to her in the Coach, to let her know I did so, which she gave no Answer too, but in Civility, now and then made a Bow, but never gave me the least Opportunity to see her Face, or so much as to know whether she had a Face or no, much less to guess what Form of a Face it was; it was Winter Time, and the Coach put up at *Rochester*, not going thro' in a Day, as was usual in Summer; and a little before we came to *Rochester*, I told the Lady I understood she had eat nothing to Day, that such a Course would but make her sick, and doing her Harm, could do her deceased Husband no Good; and therefore I entreated her, that as I was a Stranger, and only offer'd a Civility to her, in order to abate her severely afflicting herself, she would yield so far to Matters of Ceremony, let us Sup together as Passengers, for as to the Strangers, they did not seem to understand the Custom, or to desire it.

SHE bow'd, but gave no Answer, only after pressing her by Arguments, which she could not deny was very civil and kind; she return'd, she gave me Thanks, but she could not eat: Well Madam, said I, do but sit down, tho' you think you cannot eat, perhaps you may eat a Bit; indeed you must eat, or you will destroy yourself at this Rate of Living, and upon the Road too: In a Word you will be Sick indeed; I argued with her, the Maid put in, and said, do Madam, pray try to divert yourself a little; I pressed her again, and she bow'd to me very respectfully, but still said no, and she could not eat; the Maid con-

tinu'd to importune her, and said, Dear Madam do, the Gentleman is a civil Gentleman, pray Madam do, and then turning to me said, my Mistress will Sir I hope, and seem'd pleased, and indeed was so.

HOWEVER, I went on to perswade her, and taking no Notice of what her Maid said, that I was a civil Gentleman, I told her, I am a Stranger to you Madam, but if I thought you were shy of me on any Account, as to Civility, I will send my Supper up to you in your Chamber, and stay below myself; she bow'd then to me twice, and look'd up, which was the first Time, and said, she had no Suspicion of that kind, that my Offer was so civil, that she was as much ashamed to refuse it, as she should be asham'd to accept it, if she was where she was known; that she thought I was not quite a Stranger to her, for she had seen me before; that she would accept my Offer, so far as to sit at Table, because I desir'd it, but she could not promise me to eat, and that she hop'd I would take the other as a Constraint upon her, in return to so much Kindness.

SHE startled me, when she said she had seen me before, for I had not the least Knowledge of her, nor did I remember so much as to have heard her Name; for I had ask'd her Name of her Maid, and indeed it made me almost repent my Compliment; for it was many Ways essential to me not to be known: However, I could not go back, and besides, if I was known, it was essentially necessary to me to know who it was that knew me, and by what Circumstances; so I went on with my Compliment.

WE came to the Inn but just before it was dark, I offered to hand my Widow out of the Coach, and she could not decline it, but tho' her Hoods were not then much over

her Face, yet being dark, I could see little of her then, I waited on her then to the Stair-foot, and led her up the Inn Stairs to a Dining-Room, which the Master of the House offer'd to show us, as if for the whole Company: but she declin'd going in there, and said, she desir'd rather to go directly to her Chamber, and turning to her Maid, bad her speak to the Inn-keeper to show her her Lodging-Room; so I waited on her to the Door, and took my Leave, telling her I would expect her at Supper.

IN order to treat her moderately well, and not extravagantly, for I had no Thoughts of any Thing farther than Civility, which was the Effect of meer Compassion, for the Unhappiness of the most truly disconsolate Woman that I ever met with: I say, in order to treat her handsomely, but not extravagantly, I provided what the House afforded, which was a couple of Partridges, and a very good Dish of stew'd Oysters; they brought us up afterward, a Neats Tongue and a Ham, that was almost cut quite down, but we eat none of it, for the other was fully enough for us both, and the Maid made her Supper of the Oysters we had left, which were enough.

I MENTION this, because it should appear, I did not treat her as a Person I was making any Court to, for I had nothing of that in my Thoughts; but meerly in Pity to the poor Woman, who I saw in a Circumstance that was indeed very unhappy.

WHEN I gave her Maid Notice that Supper was ready, she fetch'd her Mistress, coming in before her with a Candle in her Hand, and then it was that I saw her Face, and being in her *Disabille*, she had no Hoods over her Eyes, or Black upon her Head, when I was truly surpriz'd to see one of the most beautiful Faces upon Earth: I

saluted her, and led her to the Fire-side, the Table tho' spread, being too far from the Fire, the Weather being cold.

SHE was now something sociable, tho' very grave, and sigh'd often, on Account of her Circumstances; but she so handsomely govern'd her Grief, yet so artfully made, it mingled itself with all her Discourse, that it added exceedingly to her Behaviour, which was every Way most exquisitely genteel: I had a great deal of Discourse with her, and upon many Subjects, and by Degrees took her Name, that is to say, from herself, as I had done before from her Maid, also the Place where she liv'd, *viz.* near *Ratcliff*, or rather *Stepney*, where I asked her Leave to pay her a Visit, when she thought fit to admit Company, which she seem'd to intimate would not be a great while.

IT is a Subject too surfeiting to entertain People with the Beauty of a Person they will never see; let it suffice to tell them she was the most beautiful Creature of her Sex that I ever saw before or since; and it cannot be wonder'd if I was charm'd with her, the very first Moment I see her Face, her Behaviour was likewise a Beauty in itself, and was so extraordinary, that I cannot say I can describe it.

THE next Day she was much more free than she was the first Night, and I had so much Conversation, as to enter into Particulars of Things on both Sides, also she gave me Leave to come and see her House, which however, I did not do under a Fortnight, or thereabouts, because I did not know how far she would dispense with the Ceremony, which it was necessary to keep up at the beginning of the Mourning.

HOWEVER I came as a Man that had Business with her, relating to the Ship her Husband was dead out of, and the

first Time I came was admitted, and in short, the first Time I came I made Love to her, she receiv'd that Proposal with Disdain, I cannot indeed say she treated me with any Disrespect, but she said she abhorred the Offer, and would hear no more of it.

How I came to make such a Proposal to her, I scarce knew then, tho' it was very much my Intention from the first.

IN the mean Time I enquir'd into her Circumstances and her Character, and heard nothing but what was very agreeable of them both; and above all, I found she had the Report of the best humoured Lady, and the best bred of all that Part of the Town; and now I thought I had found what I had so often wish'd for to make me happy, and had twice miscarried in, and resolv'd not to miss her, if it was possible to obtain her.

IT came indeed a little into my Thoughts, that I was a married Man, and had a second Wife alive, who tho' she was false to me, and a Whore, yet I was not legally divorc'd from her, and that she was my Wife for all that; but I soon got over that Part, for first, as she was a Whore, and the Marquis had confessed it to me, I was divorc'd in Law, and I had a Power to put her away; but having had the Misfortune of fighting a Duel, and being oblig'd to quit the Country, I could not claim the legal Process which was my Right, and therefore might conclude myself as much divorc'd as if it had been actually done, and so that Scruple vanish'd.

I SUFFER'D now two Months to run without pressing my Widow any more, only I had kept a strict Watch to find if any one else pretended to her; at the End of two Months I visited her again, when I found she receiv'd me

with more Freedom, and we had no more Sighs and Sobs about the last Husband; and tho' she would not let me press my former Proposal, so far as I thought I might have done, yet I found I had Leave to come again, and it was the Article of Decency which she stood upon as much as any Thing, that I was not disagreeable to her, and that my using her so handsomely upon the Road, had given me a great Advantage in her Favour.

I WENT on gradually with her, and gave her Leave to stand off for two Months more; but then I told her the Matter of Decency, which was but a Ceremony, was not to stand in Competition with the Matter of Affection; and in short, I could not bear any longer Delay, but that if she thought fit we might marry privately, and to cut the Story short, as I did my Courtship, in about five Months I got her in the Mind, and we were privately married, and that with so very exact a Concealment, that her Maid that was so instrumental in it, yet had no Knowledge of it for near a Month more.

I WAS now not only in my Imagination, but in Reality the most happy Creature in the World, as I was so infinitely satisfied with, my Wife was indeed the best humour'd Woman in the World, a most accomplish'd beautiful Creature indeed, perfectly well bred, and had not one ill Quality about her, and this Happiness continu'd without the least Interruption for about six Year.

BUT I that was to be the most unhappy Fellow alive in the Article of Matrimony, had at last a Disappointment of the worst sort, even here; I had three fine Children by her, and in her Time of her lying-in with the last, she got some Cold, that she did not in a long Time get off, and in short, she grew very sickly: In being so continually ill and

out of Order, she very unhappily got a Habit of drinking Cordials and hot Liquors, Drink, like the Devil, when it gets Hold of any one, tho' but a little, it goes on by little and little to their Destruction; so in my Wife, her Stomach being weak and faint, she first took this Cordial, then that, till in short she could not live without them, and from a Drop to a Sup, from a Sup to a Dram, from a Dram to a Glass, and so on to Two, till at last she took in short, to what we call Drinking.

As I liken'd Drink to the Devil, in its gradual Possession of the Habits and Person, so it is yet more like the Devil in its Encroachment on us, where it gets Hold of our Senses; in short, my beautiful, good humour'd, modest, well bred Wife, grew a Beast, a Slave to strong Liquor, and would be drunk at her own Table, nay, in her own Closet by herself, till instead of a well made, fine Shape, she was as fat as an Hostess; her fine Face bloated and blotch'd, had not so much as the Ruins of the most beautiful Person alive, nothing remain'd but a good Eye, that indeed she held to the last: In short, she lost her Beauty, her Shape, her Manners, and at last her Virtue; and giving herself up to Drinking, kill'd herself in about a Year and half after she first began that cursed Trade, in which Time she twice was exposed in the most scandalous Manner with a Captain of a Ship, who like a Villain, took the Advantage of her being in Drink, and not knowing what she did; but it had this unhappy Effect, that instead of her being asham'd, and repenting of it when she came to herself, it harden'd her in the Crime, and she grew as void of Modesty at last as of Sobriety.

O! THE Power of Intemperance! and how it encroaches on the best Dispositions in the World; how it comes upon

us gradually and insensibly, and what dismal Effects it works upon our Morals, changing the most virtuous, regular, well instructed, and well inclined Tempers into worse than brutal. That was a good Story, whether real or invented, of the Devil tempting a young Man to murder his Father, No, he said, that was unnatural; why then, says the Devil, go and lie with your Mother; no, says he, that's abominable; well then, says the Devil, if you will do nothing else to oblige me, go and get drunk; ay, ay, says the Fellow, I'll do that, so he went and made himself drunk as a Swine, and when he was drunk he murder'd his Father, and lay with his Mother.

NEVER was a Woman more virtuous, modest, chaste, sober, she never so much as desir'd to drink any Thing strong; it was with the greatest Entreaty that I could prevail with her to drink a Glass or two of Wine, and rarely, if ever, above one or two at a Time, even in Company she had no Inclination to it; not an immodest Word ever came out of her Mouth, nor would she suffer it in any one else in her hearing, without Resentment and Abhorrence: But upon that Weakness and Illness after her last Lying-in as above, the Nurse pressed her whenever she found herself faint and a sinking of her Spirits, to take this Cordial, and that Dram, to keep up her Spirits, till it became necessary even to keep her alive, and gradually encreased to a Habit, so that it was no longer her Physick but her Food; her Appetite sunk and went quite away, and she eat little or nothing, but came at last to such a dreadful Height, that as I have said, she would be drunk in her own Dressing-Room by 11 o'Clock in the Morning, and in short at last was never sober.

In this Life of hellish Excess, as I have said, she lost all

that was before so valuable in her, and a Villain, if it be proper to call a Man that was really a Gentleman by such a Name, who was an intimate Acquaintance coming to pretend a Visit to her, made her and her Maid so drunk together, that he lay with them both, with the Mistress the Maid being in the Room, and with the Maid, the Mistress being in the Room; after which, he it seems took the like Liberty with them both as often as he thought fit, t'ill the Wench being with Child, discover'd it for herself and for her Mistress too. Let any one judge what was my Case now, I that for 6 Years thought myself the happiest Man alive, was now the most miserable distracted Creature: As to my Wife, I lov'd her so well, and was so sensible of the Disaster of her drinking, being the Occasion of it all, that I could not resent it to such a Degree as I had done in her Predecessor, but I pity'd her heartily; however I put away all her Servants, and almost lock'd her up, that is to say, I set new People over her, who would not suffer any one to come near her without my Knowledge.

BUT what to do with the Villain that had thus abused both her and me, that was the Question that remained, to fight him upon equal Terms, I thought was a little hard, that after a Man had treated me as he had done, he deserv'd no fair Play for his Life, so I resolv'd to wait for him in *Stepney* Fields, and which Way he often came Home pretty late, and Pistol him in the Dark, and if possible, to let him know what I kill'd him for before I did it: But when I came to consider of this, it shock'd my Temper too as well as Principle, and I could not be a Murderer whatever else I could be, or whatever I was provok'd to be.

HOWEVER I resolv'd on the other Hand, that I would severely correct him for what he had done, and it was not long before I had an Opportunity; for hearing one Morning that he was walking cross the Fields from *Stepney* to *Shadwell*, which Way I knew he often went, I waited for his coming Home again, and fairly met him.

I HAD not many Words with him, but told him I had long look'd for him; that he knew the Villainy he had been guilty of in my Family, and he could not believe since he knew also, that I was fully inform'd of it; but that I must be a great Coward as well as a Cuckold, or that I would resent it, and that it was now a very proper Time to call him to an Account for it, and therefore bad him, if he durst show his Face to what he had done, and defend the Name of a Captain of a Man of War, as they said he had been, to draw.

HE seem'd surpriz'd at the Thing, and began to parly, and would lessen the Crime of it, but I told him it was not a Time to talk that Way, since he could not deny the Fact; and to lessen the Crime, was to lay it the more upon the Woman, who, I was sure if he had not first debauch'd with Wine, he could never have brought to the rest; and seeing he refused to draw, I knock'd him down with my Cane at one Blow, and I would not strike him again while he lay on the Ground, but waited to see him recover a little, for I saw plainly he was not kill'd; in a few Minutes he came to himself again, and then I took him fast by one Wrist, and can'd him as severely as I was able, and as long as I could hold it for want of Breath, but forbore his Head, because I was resolv'd he should feel it; in this Condition at last he begg'd for Mercy, but I was Deaf to all Pity a great while, till he roar'd out like a Boy soundly whip'd;

then I took his Sword from him, and broke it before his Face, and left him on the Ground, giving him two or three Kicks on the Backside, and bad him go and take the Law of me, if he thought fit.

I HAD now as much Satisfaction, as indeed could be taken of a Coward, and had no more to say to him: But as I knew it would make a great Noise about the Town, I immediately remov'd my Family, and that I might be perfectly conceal'd, went into the North of *England*, and liv'd in a little Town call'd ———, not far from *Lancaster*, where I liv'd retir'd, and was no more heard of, for about two Years. My Wife, tho' more confin'd than she used to be, and so kept up from the lewd Part; which I believe, in the Intervals of her Intemperance, she was truly ashamed of, and abhorr'd; yet retain'd the drinking Part, which becoming, (as I have said) necessary for her Subsistance, she soon ruin'd her Health, and in about a Year and a half after my Removal into the *North*, she died.

THUS I was once more a free Man, and as one would think, should by this Time have been fully satisfy'd that Matrimony was not appointed to be a State of Felicity to me.

I SHOULD have mention'd, that the Villain of a Captain, who I had drub'd, (as above) pretended to make a great Stir about my assaulting him on the Highway, and that I had fallen upon him with three Ruffians, with an Intent to murder him, and this began to obtain Belief among the People in the Neighbourhood: I sent him Word of so much of it as I had heard, and told him, I hoped it did not come from his own Mouth, but if it did, I expected he would publicly disown it, he himself declaring he knew it to be false; or else I should be forced to act the same

Thing over again, till I had disciplin'd him into better Manners; and that he might be assured, that if he continued to pretend that I had any Body with me when I caned him, I would publish the whole Story in Print, and besides that, would cane him again wherever I met him, and as often as I met him, till he thought fit to defend himself with his Sword like a Gentleman.

HE gave me no Answer to this Letter, and the Satisfaction I had for that was, that I gave twenty or thirty Copies of it about among the Neighbours, which made it as publick as if I had printed it, (that is, as to his Acquaintance and mine) and made him so hiss'd at, and hated, that he was obliged to remove into some other part of the Town, whither, I did not enquire.

MY Wife being now dead, I knew not what Course to take in the World, and I grew so disconsolate and discouraged, that I was next Door to being distemper'd, and sometimes indeed, I thought myself a little touch'd in my Head. But it proved nothing but Vapours, and the Vexation of this Affair, and in about a Year's Time, or thereabouts, it wore off again.

I HAD rambl'd up and down in a most discontented unsettled Posture after this, I say, about a Year, and then I considered I had three innocent Children, and I could take no Care of them, and that I must either go away, and leave them to the wide World, or settle here, and get some Body to look after them, and that better a Mother-in-Law, than no Mother, for to live such a wandering Life it would not do; so I resolv'd I would Marry as any Thing offer'd, tho' it was mean, and the meaner the better; I concluded my next Wife should be only taken as an upper Servant, that is to say, a Nurse to my Children, and

House-keeper to myself, and let her be Whore or honest Woman, said I, as she likes best, I am resolv'd I won't much concern myself about that, for I was now one desperate, that valued not how Things went.

IN this careless, and indeed, rash foolish Humour, I talk'd to myself thus; if I marry an honest Woman, my Children will be taken Care of; if she be a Slut, and abuses me, as I see every Body does, I'll Kidnap her and send her to *Virginia*, to my Plantations there, and there she shall work hard enough, and fare hard enough to keep her chaste, I'll warrant her.

I KNEW well enough at first, that these were mad hare-brain'd Notions, and I thought no more of being serious in them, than I thought of being a Man in the Moon: But I know not how it happen'd to me, I reason'd and talk'd to myself in this wild Manner so long, that I brought myself to be seriously desperate; that is, to resolve upon another Marriage, with all the Suppositions of Unhappiness that could be imagined to fall out.

AND yet even this rash Resolution of my Senses did not come presently to Action; for I was half a Year after this, before I fix'd upon any Thing; at last, as he that seeks Mischief shall certainly find it, so it was with me, there happen'd to be a young, or rather a middle aged Woman in the next Town, which was but half a Mile off, who usually was at my House, and among my Children every Day, when the Weather was tolerable; and tho' she came but meerly as a Neighbour, and to see us, yet she was always helpful in directing and ordering Things for them, and mighty handy about them, as well before my Wife died as after.

HER Father was one that I employed often to go to

Liverpool, and sometimes to *Whitehaven*, and do Business for me; for having, as it were, settled myself in the Northern Parts of *England*, I had order'd part of my Effects to be shipp'd as Occasion of Shipping offer'd, to either of those two Towns, to which (the War continuing very sharp) it was safer coming as to Privateers, than about thro' the *Channel* to *London*.

I took a mighty Fancy at last, that this Girl would answer my End, particularly that I saw she was mighty useful among the Children, so on the other Hand, the Children lov'd her very well, and I resolv'd to love her too, flattering myself mightily, that as I had married two Gentlewomen, and one Citizen, and they prov'd all three Whores, I should now find what I wanted in an innocent Country Wench.

I took up a world of Time in considering of this Matter; indeed, scarce any of my Matches were done without very mature Consideration; the second was the worst in that Article, but in this I thought of it, I believe, four Months most seriously before I resolv'd, and that very Prudence spoil'd the whole Thing; however, at last being resolv'd, I took Mrs. *Margaret* one Day as she pass'd by my Parlour-Door, call'd her in, and told her I wanted to speak with her; she came readily in, but blush'd mightily, when I bad her sit down, for I bad her sit down in a Chair just by me.

I us'd no great Ceremony with her, but told her, that I had observ'd she had been mighty kind to my Children, and was very tender to them, and that they all lov'd her, and that if she and I could agree about it, I intended to make her their Mother, if she was not engag'd to some Body else; the Girl sat still, and said never a Word, till I

said those Words, *if she was not engag'd to some Body else*; however, I took no Notice of it, other than this, look ye *Moggy*, said I, (so they call them in the Country) if you have promis'd yourself you must tell me; for we all knew that a young Fellow, a good Clergyman's wicked Son, had hung about her a great while, two or three Year, and made Love to her, but could never get the Girl in the Mind it seems to have him.

SHE knew I was not ignorant of it, and therefore, after her first Surprise was over, she told me Mr. — had, as I knew often, come after her, but she had never promis'd him any Thing, and had for several Years refus'd him; her Father always telling her that he was a wicked Fellow, and that he would be her Ruin if she had him.

WELL, *Moggy*, then, says I, what dost say to me, art thou free to make me a Wife? She blush'd, and look'd down upon the Ground, and would not speak a good while; but when I press'd her to tell me, she look'd up, and said, she suppos'd I was but jesting with her; well, I got over that, and told her, I was in very good Earnest with her, and I took her for a sober, honest, modest Girl, and as, I said, one that my Children lov'd mighty well, and I was in Earnest with her, if she would give me her Consent: I would give her my Word that I would have her, and we would be married To-morrow Morning; she look'd up again at that, and smil'd a little, and said no, that was too soon too to say yes; she hop'd I would give her some Time to consider of it, and to talk with her Father about it.

I TOLD her she needed not much Time to consider about it, but however, I would give her till To-morrow Morning, which was a great while; by this Time I had kiss'd *Moggy* two or three Times, and she began to be freer with

me, and when I press'd her to marry me the next Morning, she laugh'd, and told me it was not lucky to be married in her old Cloaths.

I stopp'd her Mouth presently with that, and told her she should not be married in her old Cloaths, for I would give her some new; ay, it may be afterwards, says *Moggy*, and laugh'd again: No, just now, says I, come along with me *Moggy*; so I carried her up Stairs into my Wife's Room that was, and shew'd her a new Morning Gown of my Wife's, that she had never worn above two or three Times, and several other fine Things; look you there *Moggy*, says I, there's a Wedding Gown for you, give me your Hand now that you will have me To-morrow Morning; and as to your Father, you know he is gone to *Liverpool* on my Business, but I will answer for it, he shall not be angry when he comes Home to call his Master Son-in-Law, and I ask him no Portion; therefore give me thy Hand for it *Moggy*, says I, very merrily to her, and kiss'd her again, and the Girl gave me her Hand, and very pleasantly too, and I was mightily pleas'd with it, I assure you.

THERE liv'd about three Doors from us, an antient Gentleman, who pass'd for a Doctor of Physick, but who was really a *Romish* Priest in Orders, as there are many in that Part of the Country, and in the Evening I sent to speak with him: He knew that I understood his Profession, and that I had liv'd in *Popish* Countries, and in a Word, believ'd me a *Roman* too, for I was such Abroad: When he came to me, I told him the Occasion for which I sent for him, and that it was to be To-morrow Morning; he readily told me, if I would come, and see him in the Evening, and bring *Moggy* with me, he would marry us in his own Study, and that it was rather more private to do it in the

Evening, than in the Morning; so I call'd *Moggy* again to me, and told her, since she and I had agreed the Matter for To-morrow, it was as well to be done over Night, and told her what the Doctor had said.

MOGGY blush'd again, and said, she must go Home first, that she could not be ready before To-morrow; look ye *Moggy*, says I, you are my Wife now, and you shall never go away from me a Maid, I know what you mean, you would go Home to shift you: Come *Moggy*, says I, come along with me again up Stairs, so I carried her to a Chest of Linnen, where was several new Shifts of my last Wife's which she had never worn at all, and some that had been worn, there's a clean Smock for you *Moggy*, says I, and To-morrow you shall have all the rest: When I had done this, now *Moggy*, says I, go and dress you; so I lock'd her in, and went down Stairs; knock, says I, when you are dress'd.

AFTER some Time, *Moggy* did not knock, but down she came into my Room, compleatly dress'd, for there were several other Things that I bad her take, and the Cloaths fitted her as if they had been made for her; it seems she slipt the Lock back.

WELL *Moggy*, says I, now you see you shan't be marry'd in your old Cloaths, so I took her in my Arms and kiss'd her, and well pleased I was, as ever I was in my Life, or with any Thing I ever did in my Life; as soon as it was dark, *Moggy* slip'd away before-hand, as the Doctor and I had agreed, to the old Gentleman's House-keeper, and I came in about half an Hour after, and there we were marry'd in the Doctor's Study, that is to say, in his Oratory, or Chapel, a little Room within his Study, and we staid and supp'd with him afterward.

WHEN after a short Stay more, I went Home first, because I would send the Children all to Bed, and the other Servants out of the Way, and *Moggy* came some Time after, and so we lay together that Night; the next Morning I let all the Family know that *Moggy* was my Wife, and my three Children were rejoic'd at it to the last Degree: And now I was a marry'd Man a fourth Time; and in short, I was really more happy in this plain Country Girl, than with any of all the Wives I had had: She was not young, being about 33, but she brought me a Son the first Year; she was very pretty, well shap'd; and of a merry chearful Disposition, but not a Beauty; she was an admirable Family Manager, lov'd my former Children, and used them not at all the worse for having some of her own, in a Word, she made me an excellent Wife; but liv'd with me but four Years, and died of a Hurt she got of a Fall while she was with Child, and in her I had a very great Loss indeed.

AND yet such was my Fate in Wives, that after all the Blushing and Backwardness of Mrs. *Moggy* at first, Mrs. *Moggy* had, it seems, made a Slip in her younger Days, and was got with Child ten Year before, by a Gentleman of a great Estate in that Country, who promised her Marriage, and afterwards deserted her: But as that had happen'd long before I came into the Country, and the Child was dead and forgotten, the People were so good to her, and so kind to me, that hearing I had marry'd her, no Body ever spoke of it, neither did I ever hear of it, or suspect it, till after she was in her Grave, and then it was of small Consequence to me one way or other, and she was a faithful, virtuous, obliging Wife to me. I had very severe Affliction indeed, while she lived with me, for the *Small-*

Pox, a frightful Distemper in that Country, broke into my Family, and carry'd off three of my Children, and a Maid-Servant; so that I had only one of my former Wife's, and one by my *Moggy*, the first a Son, the last a Daughter.

WHILE these Things were in Agitation, came on the Invasion of the *Scots*, and the Fight at *Preston*, and I have Cause to bless the Memory of my *Moggy*, for I was all on Fire on that Side, and just going away with Horse and Arms, to join the Lord *Derwentwater*; but *Moggy* begg'd me off, (as I may call it) and hung about me so, with her Tears and Importunities, that I sat still and look'd on, for which I had Reason to be thankful.

I WAS really a sorrowful Father, and the Loss of my Children stuck close to me, but the Loss of my Wife stuck closer to me than all the rest, nor was my Grief lessen'd, or my kindest Thoughts abated in the least, by the Account I heard of her former Miscarriages, seeing they were so long before I knew her, and were not discover'd by me, or to me, in her Life-time.

ALL these Things put together made me very comfortless: And now I thought Heaven summon'd me to retire to *Virginia*, the Place, and (as I may say) the only Place I had been bless'd at, or had met with any Thing that deserv'd the Name of Success in, and where indeed, my Affairs being in good Hands, the Plantations were increas'd to such a Degree, that some Years my Return here made up eight Hundred Pound, and one Year almost a Thousand; so I resolv'd to leave my native Country once more, and taking my Son with me, and leaving *Moggy's* Daughter with her Grandfather, I made him my principal Agent, left him considerable in his Hands, for the Maintenance

of the Child, and left my Will in his Hand, by which, if I died before I should otherwise provide for her, I left her 2000 *l.* Portion, to be paid by my Son out of the Estate I had in *Virginia*, and the whole Estate if he died unmarried.

I EMBARK'D for *Virginia*, in the Year —, at the Town of *Liverpool*, and had a tollerable Voyage thither, only that we met with a Pyrate Ship, in the Latitude of 48 Degrees, who plunder'd us of every Thing they could come at that was for their Turn, that is to say, Provisions, Ammunition, small Arms and Money; but to give the Rogues their due, tho' they were the most abandon'd Wretches that were ever seen, they did not use us ill; and as to my Loss, it was not considerable, the Cargo which I had on Board, was in Goods, and was of no Use to them; nor could they come at those Things without rumaging the whole Ship, which they did not think worth their while.

I FOUND all my Affairs in very good Order at *Virginia*, my Plantations prodigiously increas'd, and my Manager who first inspired me with travelling Thoughts, and made me Master of any Knowledge worth naming, receiv'd me with a Transport of Joy, after a Ramble of four and twenty Years.

I TOUGHT to remember it to the Encouragement of all faithful Servants, that he gave me an Account, which I believe was critically Just, of the whole Affair of the Plantations, each by themselves, and ballanc'd in Years, every Year's Produce being fully transmitted, Charges deduct-ed, to my Order at *London*.

I WAS exceedingly satisfied, as I had good Reason indeed with his Management, and with his Management, as much in its Degree of his own, I can safely say it: He

had improv'd a very large Plantation of his own at the same Time, which he began upon the Foot of the Country's Allowance of Land, and the Encouragement he had from me.

WHEN he had given me all this pleasing agreeable Account, you will not think it strange, that I had a Desire to see the Plantations, and to view all the Servants, which in both the Works were upwards of three Hundred; and as my Tutor generally bought some every Fleet that came from *England*, I had the Mortification to see two or three of the *Preston* Gentlemen there, who being Prisoners of War, were spar'd from the publick Execution, and sent over for to that Slavery, which to Gentlemen must be worse than Death.

I do not mention what I did or said, relating to them here, I shall speak at large of it, when the rest of them came over, which more nearly concern'd me.

BUT one Circumstance occur'd to me here, that equally surpriz'd me, and terrify'd me to the last Degree; looking over all the Servants, as I say above, and viewing the Plantations narrowly and frequently, I came one Day by a Place where some Women were at Work by themselves: I was seriously reflecting on the Misery of human Life, when I saw some of those poor Wretches; thought I, they have perhaps liv'd gay, and pleasantly in the World, notwithstanding, thro' a Variety of Distresses, they may have been brought to this; and if a Body was to hear the History of some of them now, it would perhaps be as moving, and as seasonable a Sermon as any Minister in the Country could Preach.

WHILE I was musing thus, and looking at the Women, on a sudden I heard a Combustion among other of the

Women Servants, who were almost behind me in the same Work, and Help was call'd loudly for, one of the Women having swoon'd away; they said she would die immediately if something was not done to relieve her; I had nothing about me, but a little Bottle, which we always carried about us there with Rum, to give any Servant a Dram that merited that Favour; so I turn'd my Horse, and went up towards the Place; but as the poor Creature was lying flat on the Ground, and the rest of the Women Servants about her, I did not see her, but gave them the Bottle, and they rub'd her Temples with it, and with much a-do brought her to Life, and gave her a little to drink, but she could drink none of it, and was exceeding ill afterwards, so that she was carried to the Infirmary, so they call it in the Religious Houses in *Italy*, where the sick Nuns or Friars are carried; but here in *Virginia*, I think they should call it the Condemn'd-hole, for it really was only a Place just fit for People to die in, not a Place to be cur'd in.

THE sick Woman refusing to drink, one of the Women Servants brought me the Bottle again, and I bad them drink it among them, which had almost set them together by the Ears for the Liquor, there being not enough to give every one a Sup.

I WENT Home to my House immediately, and reflecting on the miserable Provision was wont to be made for poor Servants, when they were sick, I enquir'd of my Manager, if it was so still? He said, he believ'd mine was better than any in the Country; but he confess'd it was but sad Lodging; however, he said, he would go and look after it immediately, and see how it was.

HE came to me again about an Hour after, and told me

the Woman was very ill, and frighted with her Condition, that she seem'd to be very Penitent, for some Things in her past Life, which lay heavy upon her Mind, believing she should die; that she ask'd him, if there was no Ministers to comfort poor dying Servants? And he told her, that she knew they had no Minister nearer than such a Place; but that if she liv'd till Morning, he should be sent for. He told me also, that he had remov'd her into a Room where their chief Workman us'd to Lodge; that he had given her a Pair of Sheets, and every Thing he could, that he thought she wanted, and had appointed another Woman Servant to tend her, and sit up with her.

WELL, says I, that's well, for I cannot bear to have poor Creatures lie and perish, by the meer Hardship of the Place they are in, when they are Sick, and want Help: Besides, said I, some of those unfortunate Creatures, they call Convicts, may be People that have been tenderly brought up. Really Sir, says he, this poor Creature I always said had something of a Gentlewoman in her, I could see it by her Behaviour, and I have heard the other Women say, that she liv'd very great once, and that she had fifteen Hundred Pound to her Portion, and I dare say she has been a handsome Woman in her Time, and she has a Hand as fine as a Ladies now, tho' it be tanned with the Weather; I dare say she was never brought up to Labour as she does here, and she says to the rest that it will kill her.

TRULY, says I, it may be so, and that may be the Reason that she faints under it; and, I added, is there nothing you can put her to within Doors, that may not be so Laborious, and expose her to so much Heat and Cold; he told me yes, there was; he could set her to be the House-

keeper, for the Woman that lately was such, was out of her Time, and was married and turn'd Planter. Why then let her have it, said I, if she recovers, and in the mean Time go, said I, and tell her so, perhaps the Comfort of it may help to restore her.

HE did so, and with that, taking good Care of her, and giving her good warm Diet, the Woman recover'd, and in a little Time was Abroad again; for it was the meer Weight of Labour, and being expos'd to hard Lodging, and mean Diet, to one so tenderly bred, that struck her, and she fainted at her Work.

WHEN she was made House-keeper, she was quite another Body; she put all the Houshold into such excellent Order, and manag'd their Provisions so well, that my Tutor admir'd her Conduct, and would be every now and then speaking of her to me, that she was an excellent Manager; I'll warrant, says he, she has been bred a Gentlewoman, and she has been a fine Woman in her Time too: In a Word, he said so many good Things of her, that I had a Mind to see her; so one Day I took Occasion to go to the Plantation-House, as they call'd it, and into a Parlour, always reserv'd for the Master of the Plantation; there she had Opportunity to see me before I could see her, and as soon as she had seen me, she knew me; but indeed, had I seen her an hundred Times, I should not have known her; she was, it seems, in the greatest Confusion and Surprize at seeing who I was, that it was possible for any one to be; and when I order'd my Manager to bring her into the Room, he found her crying, and begg'd him to excuse her, that she was frighted, and should die away, if she came near me.

I not imagining any Thing, but that the poor Creature

was afraid of me, (for Masters in *Virginia* are terrible Things) bad him tell her she need to be under no Concern at my calling for her, for it was not for any Hurt, nor for any Displeasure, but that I had some Orders to give her; so having, as he thought, encourag'd her, (tho' her Surprise was of another Kind) he brought her in; when she came in, she held a Handkerchief in her Hand, wiping her Eyes, as if she had cry'd, Mrs. House-keeper, said I, (speaking chearfully to her) don't be concern'd at my sending for you, I have had a very good Account of your Management, and I call'd for you, to let you know I am very well pleas'd with it; and if it falls in my Way to do you any good, if your Circumstances will allow it, I may be willing enough to help you out of your Misery.

SHE made low Curtisies, but said nothing; however, she was so far encourag'd, that she took her Hand from her Face, and I saw her Face fully, and I believe she did it, desiring I should discover who she was, but I really knew nothing of her any more, than if I had never seen her in my Life; but went on, as I thought, to encourage her, as I us'd to do with any that I saw deserv'd it.

IN the mean Time my Tutor, who was in the Room, went out on some Business or other, I know not what; as soon as he was gone, she burst out into a Passion, and fall down on her Knees just before me: O ! *Sir*, says she, *I see you don't know me, be merciful to me, I am your miserable divorc'd Wife!*

I was astonish'd, I was frighted, I trembled like one in an Ague, I was speechless; in a Word, I was ready to sink and she fell flat on her Face, and lay there, as if she had been dead: I was speechless, I say, as a Stone, I had only presence of Mind enough to step to the Door, and fasten

it, that my Tutor might not come in : Then going back to her, I took her up, and spoke comfortably to her, and told her, I no more knew her, than if I had never seen her.

O! Sir, said she, *Afflictions are dreadful Things, such as I have suffer'd have been enough to alter my Countenance; but forgive, said she, for God's Sake the Injuries I have done you: I have paid dear for all my Wickedness, and 'tis Just, 'tis Righteous that God should bring me to your Foot, to ask your Pardon for all my brutish Doings: Forgive me Sir,* said she, *I beseech you, and let me be your Slave or Servant for it as long as I live, 'tis all I ask:* And with those Words, she fell upon her Knees again, and cry'd so vehemently, that it was impossible for her to stop it, or to speak a Word more. I took her up again, made her sit down, desir'd her to compose herself, and to hear what I was going to say, tho' indeed it touch'd me so sensibly, I was hardly able to speak any more than she was.

FIRST, I told her it was such a Surprise to me, that I was not able to say much to her, and indeed the Tears ran down my Face almost as fast as they did on hers, I told her that I should only tell her now, that as no Body had yet known any Thing that had pass'd, so it was absolutely necessary not a Word of it should be known, that it should not be the worse for her, that she was thus thrown into my Hands again; but that I could do nothing for her if it was known, and therefore that her future good, or ill Fortune, would depend upon her entire concealing it; that as my Manager would come in again presently, she should go back to her Part of the House, and go on in the Business, as she did before; that I would come to her, and talke more at large with her in a Day or two; so she retir'd,

after assuring me that not a Word of it should go out of her Mouth, and indeed she was willing to retire before my Tutor came again, that he might not see the Agony she was in.

I WAS so perplex'd about this surprizing Incident, that I hardly knew what I did or said all that Night, nor was I come to any settled Resolution in the Morning, what Course to take in it: However, in that Morning I call'd my Tutor, and told him that I had been exceedingly concern'd about the poor distress'd Creature, the House-keeper; that I had heard some of her Story, which was very dismal; that she had been in very good Circumstances, and was bred very well, and that I was glad he had remov'd her out of the Field into the House; but still she was almost naked, and that I would have him go to the Warehouse and give her some Linnen, especially Head-Cloaths, and all Sorts of small Things, such as Hoods, Gloves, Stockings, Shoes, Petticoats, *etc.* and to let her chuse for herself; also a Morning-Gown of Callicoe, and a Mantua of a better kind of Callicoe; that is to say, to new Cloath her, which he did: But brought me Word, that he found her all in Tears, and that she had cry'd all Night long, and in short, he believ'd she would indeed cry herself to Death; that all the while she was receiving the Things he gave her, she cry'd; that now and then she would struggle with, and stop it, but that then upon another Word speaking, she would burst out again, so that it griev'd every Body that saw her.

I WAS really affected with her Case very much, but struggled hard with myself to hide it, and turn'd the Discourse to something else; in the mean Time, tho' I did not go to her the next Day, nor till the third Day, yet I

studied Day and Night how to act, and what I should do in this remarkable Case.

WHEN I came to the House, which was the third Day, she came into the Room I was in, cloath'd all over with my Things which I had ordered her, and told me, *She thank'd God she was now my Servant again, and wore my Livery, thank'd me for the Cloaths I had sent her, and said it was much more than she had deserv'd from me.*

I THEN entered into Discourses with her, no Body being present but ourselves, and first I told her, She should name no more of the unkind Things had had past; for she had humbled herself more than enough on that Subject, and I would never reproach her with any Thing that was past, I found that she had been the deepest Sufferer by far; I told her it was impossible for me, in my present Circumstances, to receive her there as a Wife, who came over as a Convict, neither did she know so little as to desire it: But, I told her, I might be instrumental to put an End to her Misfortunes in the World, and especially to the miserable Part of it, which was her present Load, provided she could effectually keep her own Council, and never let the Particulars come out of her Mouth, and that from the Day she did, she might date her irrecoverable Ruin.

SHE was as sensible of the Necessity of that Part, as I was, and told me all she could claim of me, would be only to deliver her from her present Calamity, that she was not able to support; and that then, if I pleased, she might live such a Life, as that she might apply the Residue of what Time she should have, wholly to Repentance; that she was willing to do the meanest Offices in the World for me; and tho' she should rejoice to hear that I would forgive

her former Life, yet that she would not look any higher than to be my Servant, as long as she liv'd; and in the mean Time, I might be satisfy'd she would never let any Creature so much as know that I had ever seen her before.

I ASK'D her, if she was willing to let me into any Part of the History of her Life, since she and I parted, but I did not insist upon it otherwise, than as she thought convenient; she said, as her Breach with me began first in Folly, and ended in Sin, so her whole Life afterward was a continu'd Series of Calamity, Sin and Sorrow, Sin and Shame, and at last Misery; that she was deluded into gay Company, and to an expensive Way of Living, which betray'd her to several wicked Courses to support the Expences of it; that after a thousand Distresses and Difficulties, being not able to maintain herself, she was reduced to extreme Poverty.

THAT she would many Times have humbled herself to me in the lowest and most submissive Manner in the World, being sincerely Penitent for her first Crime, but that she never could hear of me, nor which Way I was gone; that she was by that Means so abandon'd, that she wanted Bread, and those Wants and Distresses brought her into bad Company of another Kind, and that she fell in among a Gang of Thieves, with whom she herded for some Time, and got Money enough a great while, but under the greatest Dread and Terror imaginable, being in the constant Fear of coming to Shame, that afterwards, what she fear'd, was come upon her, and for a very trifling Attempt, in which she was not Principal, but accidentally concern'd, she was sent to this Place. She told me, her Life was such a Collection of various Fortunes, up and down, in Plenty, and in Misery; in Prison, and at Liber-

ty; at Ease, and in Torment; that it would take up a great many Days to give me a History of it; that I was come to see the End of it, as I had seen the best Part of the Beginning; that I knew she was brought up tenderly, and fair'd delicately; but that now she was with the *Prodigal*, brought to desire Husks with Swine, and even to want that Supply: Her Tears flow'd so strongly upon this Discourse, that they frequently interrupted her, so that she could not go on without Difficulty, and at last could not go on at all; so I told her, I would excuse her telling any more of her Story at that Time; that I saw it was but a renewing of her Grief, and that I would rather contribute to her forgetting what was past, and desir'd her to say no more of it, so I broke off that Part.

IN the mean Time, I told her, since Providence had thus cast her upon my Hands again, I would take Care that she should not want, and that she should not live hardly neither, tho' I could go no farther at present, and thus we parted for that Time, and we continu'd in the Business of House-keeper, only, that to ease her, I gave her an Assistant, and tho' I would not have it call'd so, it was neither more nor less than a Servant to wait on her, and do every Thing for her, and told her too, that it was so.

AFTER she had been some Time in this Place, she recover'd her Spirits, and grew chearful; her fallen Flesh plump'd up, and the sunk and hollow Parts fill'd again; so that she began to recover something of that Brightness, and charming Countenance, which was once so very agreeable to me; and sometimes I could not help having warm Desires towards her, and of taking her into her first Station again; but there were many Difficulties occur'd, which I could not get over a great while.

BUT in the mean Time another odd Accident happen'd, which put me to a very great Difficulty, and more than I could have thought such a Thing could be capable of; my Tutor, a Man of Wit and Learning, and full of generous Principles, who was at first mov'd with Compassion for the Misery of this Gentlewoman, and even then, thought there were some Things more than common in her, as I have hinted: Now, when, as I say, she was recover'd, and her sprightly Temper restor'd and comforted, he was charm'd so with her Conversation, that in short, he fell in Love with her.

I HINTED in my former Account of her, that she had a charming Tongue, was Mistress of abundance of Wit, that she sung incomparably fine, and was perfectly well bred, these all remained with her still, and made her a very agreeable Person; and in short, he came to me one Evening, and told me, that he came to ask my Leave to let him marry the House-keeper.

I was exceedingly perplex'd at this Proposal, but however, I gave him no Room to perceive that; I told him I hop'd he had consider'd well of it before he brought it so far as to offer it to me, and supposed that he had agreed that Point so, that I had no Consent to give, but as she had almost four Year of her Time to serve.

HE answered no, he paid such a Regard to me, that he would not so much as take one Step in such a Thing without my Knowledge, and assured me, he had not so much as mentioned it to her. I knew not what Answer indeed to make to him, but at last I resolv'd to put it off from myself to her, because then I should have Opportunity to talk with her before hand; so I told him he was perfectly free to act in the Matter as he thought fit; that I could not

say either one Thing or another to it, neither had I any right to meddle in it; as to her serving out her Time with me, that was a Trifle, and not worth naming, but I hop'd he would consider well every Circumstance before he entered upon such an Affair as that.

HE told me he had fully consider'd it already, and that he was resolv'd seeing I was not against it, to have her whatever came of it, for he believ'd he should be the happiest Man alive with her; then he run on in his Character of her, how clever a Woman she was in the Management of all manner of Business, what admirable Conversation she was, what a Wit, what a Memory, what a vast Share of Knowledge, and the like; all which I knew to be the Truth, and yet short of her just Character too; for as she was all that formerly when she was mine, she was vastly improv'd in the School of Affliction, and was all the bright Part, with a vast Addition of Temper, Prudence, Judgment, and all that she formerly wanted.

I HAD not much Patience, as you may well imagine, till I saw my honest House-keeper, to communicate this Secret to her, and to see what Course she would steer on so nice an Occasion; but I was suddenly taken so ill with a Cold, which held for two Days, that I could not stir out of Doors; and in this Time the Matter was all done and over, for my Tutor had gone the same Night, and made his Attack, but was coldly receiv'd at first, which very much surpriz'd him, for he made no Doubt to have her Consent at first Word; however, the next Day he came again, and again the third Day, when finding he was in earnest, and yet that she could not think of any Thing of that kind, she told him in few Words, that she thought herself greatly oblig'd to him for such a Testimony of his Respect to her,

and should have embrac'd it willingly, as any Body would suppose one in her Circumstances should do, but that she would not abuse him so much; for that she must acknowledge to him, she was under Obligations that prevented her, that was in short, that she was a married Woman, and had a Husband alive.

THIS was so sincere, but so effectual an Answer, that he could have no Room to reply one Word to it; but that he was very sorry, and that it was a very great Affliction to him, and as great a Disappointment as ever he met with.

THE next Day after he had receiv'd this Repulse, I came to the Plantation-House, and sending for the House-keeper, I began with her, and told her that I understood she would have a very advantageous Proposal made to her, and that I would have her consider well of it, and then told her what my Tutor had said to me.

SHE immediately fell a crying, at which I seem'd to wonder very much. O! Sir, says she, how can you name such a Thing to me? I told her that I could name it the better to her, because I had been married myself since I parted from her: Yes Sir, says she, but the Case alters, the Crime being on my Side, I ought not to marry; but, says she, that is not the Reason at all, but I cannot do it; I pretended to press her to it, (tho' not sincerely I must acknowledge, for my Heart had turned toward her for some Time, and I had fully forgiven her in my Mind all her former Conduct) but, I say, I seem'd to press her to it, at which she burst out in a Passion; No, no, says she, let me be your Slave, rather than the best Man's Wife in the World: I reasoned with her upon her Circumstances, and how such a Marriage would restore her to a State of Ease

and Plenty, and none in the World might ever know or suspect who or what she had been, but she could not bear it; but with Tears again raising her Voice, that I was afraid she would be heard. I beseech you, says she, do not speak of it any more, I was once yours, and I will never belong to any Man else in the World; let me be as I am, or any Thing else you please to make me, but not a Wife to any Man alive but yourself.

I WAS so mov'd with the Passion she was in at speaking this, that I knew not what I said or did for some Time; at length I said to her, it is a great Pity you had not long ago been as sincere as you are now, it had been better for us both, however, as it is, you shall not be forced to any Thing against your Mind, nor shall you be the worse treated for refusing; but how will you put him off? No doubt he expects you will receive his Proposal, as an Advantage, and as he sees no farther into your Circumstances, so it is. O! Sir, says she, I have done all that already, he has his Answer, and is fully satisfied, he will never trouble you any more on that Head, and then she told me what Answer she had given him.

FROM that Minute I resolv'd that I would certainly take her again to be my Wife as before, I thought she had fully made me Amends for her former ill Conduct, and she deserv'd to be forgiven; and so indeed she did, if ever Woman did, considering also what dreadful Penance she had undergone, and how long she had liv'd in Misery and Distress; and that Providence had, as it were, cast her upon me again, and above all, had given her such an Affection to me, and so resolv'd a Mind, that she could refuse so handsome an Offer of Deliverance, rather than be farther separated from me.

As I resolv'd this in my Mind, so I thought it was cruel to conceal it any longer from her; nor indeed could I contain myself any longer, but I took her in my Arms; well says I, you have given me such a Testimony of Affection in this, that I can no longer withstand, I forgive you all that ever was between us on this Account, and since you will be no Body's but mine, you shall be mine again as you were at first.

BUT this was too much for her the other Way, and now she was so far over-come with my yielding to her, that had she not got vent to her Passion, by the most vehement crying, she must have died in my Arms, and I was forc'd to let her go, and set her down in a Chair, where she cry'd for a Quarter of an Hour before she could speak a Word.

WHEN she was come to herself enough to talk again, I told her we must consider of a Method how to bring this to pass; and that it must not be done by publishing there that she was my Wife before, for that would expose us both, but that I would openly marry her again; this she agreed was very rational, and accordingly about two Months after we were married again, and no Man in the World ever enjoy'd a better Wife, or liv'd more happy than we did both for several Years after.

AND now I began to think my Fortunes were settled for this World, and I had nothing before me but to finish a Life of infinite Variety, such as mine had been, with a comfortable Retreat, being both made wiser by our Sufferings and Difficulties, and able to judge for ourselves what kind of Life would be best adapted to our present Circumstances, and in what Station we might look upon ourselves to be most compleatly happy.

BUT Man is a short sighted Creature at best, and in no-

thing more than in that of fixing his own Felicity, or, as we may say, choosing for himself: One would have thought, and so my Wife often suggested to me, that the State of Life that I was now in, was as perfectly calculated to make a Man compleatly happy, as any private Station in the World could be: We had an Estate more than sufficient, and daily encreasing, for the supporting any State or Figure that in that Place we could propose to ourselves, or even desire to live in: We had every Thing that was pleasant and agreeable, without the least Mortification in any Circumstances of it; every sweet Thing, and no thing to imbitter it; every Good, and no mixture of Evil with it; nor any Gap open where we could have the least Apprehensions of any Evil breaking out upon us; nor indeed was it easy for either of us in our phlegmatick melancholy Notions, to have the least Imagination how any Thing disastrous could happen to us in the common Course of Things, unless something should befall us out of the ordinary Way of Providence, or of its acting in the World.

BUT an unseen Mine blew up all this apparent Tranquillity at once, and tho' it did not remove my Affairs there from me, yet it effectually remov'd me from them, and sent me a wandering into the World again; a Condition full of Hazards, and always attended with Circumstances dangerous to Mankind, while he is left to choose his own Fortunes, and be guided by his own short sighted Measures.

I MUST now return to a Circumstance of my History, which had been past for some Time, and which relates to my Conduct, while I was last in *England*.

I MENTION'D how my faithful Wife *Moggy*, with her

Tears and her Entreaties, had prevail'd with me not to play the Mad-man, and openly join in the Rebellion with the late Lord *Derwentwater* and his Party, when they enter'd *Lancashire*, and thereby, as I may, saved my Life. But my Curiosity prevail'd so much at last, that I gave her the Slip when they came to *Preston*, and at least thought I would go and look at them, and see what they were likely to come to.

My former Wife's Importunities as above, had indeed prevail'd upon me from publickly embarking in that Enterprize, and joining openly with them in Arms; and by this, as I have observ'd, she sav'd my Life to be sure, because I had then publickly espoused the Rebellion, and had been known to have been among them, which might have been as fatal to me afterwards, tho' I had not been taken in the Action as if I had.

BUT when they advanc'd, and came nearer to us to *Preston*, and there appear'd a greater Spirit among the People in their Favour; my old Doctor, who I mention'd before, who was a *Romish* Priest, and had married us, inspir'd me with new Zeal, and gave me no Rest, till he oblig'd me with only a good Horse and Arms to join them the Day before they enter'd *Preston*, he himself venturing in the same Posture with me.

I WAS not so publick here as to be very well known, at least by any one that had Knowledge of me in the Country where I liv'd; and this was indeed my Safety afterward, as you will soon hear; but yet I was known too among the Men, especially among the *Scots*, with some of whom I had been acquainted in Foreign Service; with these I was particularly conversant, and passed for a *French* Officer: I talk'd to them of making a select De-

tachment to defend the Pass between *Preston*, and the River and Bridge; upon maintaining which, as I insisted, depended the Safety of the whole Party.

It was with some Warmth that I spoke of that Affair, and as I passed among them I say, for a *French* Officer, and a Man of Experience, it caused several Debates among them; but the Hint was not followed, as is well known, and from that Moment I gave them all up as lost, and meditating nothing but how to escape from them, which I effected the Night before they were surrounded by the Royal Cavalry: I did not do this without great Difficulty, swimming the River *Ribble*, at a Place, where tho' I got well over, yet I could not for a long while get to a Place where my Horse cou'd Land himself, that is to say, where the Ground was firm enough for him to take the Land; however, at length I got on Shore, and riding very hard, came the next Evening in sight of my own Dwelling, here after lying by in a Wood till the Depth of Night, I shut my Horse in a little kind of a Gravel Pit, or Marl-Pit, where I soon cover'd him with Earth for the present, and marching all alone, I came about two in the Morning to my House, where my Wife surpriz'd with Joy, and yet terribly frightened, let me in, and then I took immediate Measures to secure myself upon whatever Incident might happen, but which as Things were order'd, I had no need to make use of, for the Rebels being entirely defeated, and either all killed or taken Prisoners, I was not known by any Body in the Country to have been among them; no, nor so much as suspected, and thus I made a narrow Escape from the most dangerous Action, and most foolishly embark'd in, of any that I had ever been engag'd in before.

IT was very lucky to me that I killed and bury'd my Horse, for he would have been taken two Days after, and would to be sure have been known by those who had seen me upon him at *Preston*; but now, as none knew I had been Abroad, nor any such Circumstance could discover me, I kept close, and as my Excursion had been short, and I had not been missed by any of my Neighbours, if any Body came to speak with me, behold, I was at Home.

HOWEVER, I was not thoroughly easy in my Mind, and secretly wish'd I was in my own Dominions in *Virginia*, to which, in a little Time, other Circumstances occurring, I made Preparations to remove with my whole Family.

IN the mean Time, as above, the Action at *Preston* happen'd, and the miserable People surrender'd to the King's Troops, some were Executed for Examples, as in such Cases is usual, and the Government extending Mercy to the Multitude, they were kept in *Chester* Castle, and other Places a considerable Time, till they were disposed of, some one Way, some another, as we shall hear.

SEVERAL Hundreds of them after this, were at their own Request Transported, as 'tis vulgarly expressed, to the Plantations, that is to say, sent to *Virginia*, and other *British* Colonies, to be sold after the usual Manner of condemn'd Criminals, or, as we call them there, Convicts, to serve a limited Time in the Country, and then be made Freemen again; some of these I have spoken of above; but now to my no little Uneasiness, I found, after I had been there some Time, two Ships arriv'd with more of these People in the same River where all my Plantations lay.

I no sooner heard of it, but the first Step I took was, to

resolve to let none of them be bought into my Work, or to any of my Plantations; and this I did, pretending that I would not make Slaves every Day of unfortunate Gentlemen, who fell into that Condition for their Zeal to their Party only, and the like: But the true Reason was, that I expected several of them would know me, and might perhaps betray me, and make it public, that I was one of the same sort, but had made my Escape, and so I might be brought into Trouble; and if I came off with my Life, might have all my Effects seiz'd on, and be reduc'd to Misery and Poverty again at once, all which I thought I had done enough to deserve.

THIS was a just Caution, but as I found quickly, was not a sufficient one, as my Circumstances stood for my Safety; for tho' I bought none of these poor Men myself, yet several of my Neighbours did, and there was scarce a Plantation near me but had some of them, more or less among them; so that in a Word, I could not peep abroad hardly, but I was in Danger to be seen and known too, by some or other of them.

I MAY be allow'd to say, that this was a very uneasy Life to me, and such, that in short, I found myself utterly unable to bear; for I was now reduced from a great Man, a Magistrate, a Governor, or Master of three Plantations, and having three or four Hundred Servants at my Command, to be a poor self condemn'd Rebel, and durst not shew my Face; and that I might with the same Safety, or rather more, have skulk'd about in *Lancashire* where I was, or gone up to *London*, and conceal'd myself there till Things had been over; but now the Danger was come Home to me, even to my Door, and I expected nothing but to be inform'd against every Day, be taken up and

sent to *England* in Irons, and have all my Plantations seiz'd on, as a forfeited Estate to the Crown.

I HAD but one Hope of Safety to trust to, and that was, that having been so little a while among them, done nothing for them, and passing for a Stranger, they never knew my Name, but only I was call'd the *French* Colonel, or the *French* Officer, or the *French* Gentleman, by most, if not by all the People there; and as for the Doctor that went with me, he had found Means to escape too, tho' not the same Way that I did, finding the Cause not like to be supported, and that the King's Troops were gathering on all Sides round them like a Cloud.

BUT to return to myself, this was no Satisfaction to me, and what to do I really knew not; for I was more at a Loss how to shift in such a distressed Case as this, now it lay so close to me, than ever I was in any Difficulty of my Life: The first Thing I did was to come Home, and make a Confidence of the whole Affair to my Wife; and tho' I did it generously without Conditions, yet I did not do it without first telling her, how I was now going to put my Life into her Hands, that she might have it in her Power to pay me Home, for all that she might think had been hard in my former Usage of her; and that in short, it would be in her Power to deliver me up into the Hands of my Enemies, but that I would trust her Generosity, as well as her renew'd Affection, and put all upon her Fidelity, and without any more Precaution, I open'd the whole Thing to her, and particularly, the Danger I was now in.

A FAITHFUL Counsellor is Life from the Dead, gives Courage where the Heart is sinking, and raises the Mind to a proper Use of Means; and such she was to me indeed, upon every Step of this Affair, and it was by her

Direction that I took every Step that followed for the extricating myself out of this Labyrinth.

COME, come my Dear, says she, if this be all, there is no Room for any such disconsolate doings as your Fears run you upon; for I was immediately for selling off my Plantations, and all my Stock, and embarking myself forthwith, and to get to *Maderas*, or to any Place out of the King's Dominions.

BUT my Wife was quite of another Opinion, and encouraging me on another Account, proposed two Things, either my freighting a Sloop with Provisions to the *West-Indies*, and so taking Passage from thence to *London*, or letting her go away directly for *England*, and endeavour to obtain the King's Pardon whatever it might cost.

INCLIN'D to the last Proposal, fortho' I was unhappily prejudic'd in Favour of a wrong Interest, yet I had always a Secret and right Notion of the Clemency and merciful Disposition of his Majesty, and had I been in *England*, should I believe, have been easily persuaded to have thrown myself at his Feet.

BUT going to *England* as I was, Circumstances must have been a publick Action, and I must have made all the usual Preparations for it, must have appear'd in Publick, have staid till the Crop was ready, and gone away in Form and State as usual, or have acted as if something extraordinary was the Matter, and have fill'd the Heads of the People there with innumerable Suggestions of they knew not what.

BUT my Wife made all this easy to me, from her own Invention; for without acquainting me with any Thing, she comes merrily to me one Morning before I was up: My Dear, says she, I am very sorry to hear that you are

not very well this Morning, I have order'd *Pennico*, that was a young *Negro* Girl which I had given her, to make you a Fire in your Chamber, and pray lie still where you are a while, till 'tis done; at the same Instant the little *Negro* came in with Wood, and a pair of Bellows, *etc.* to kindle the Fire, and my Wife not giving me Time to reply, whispers close to my Ear to lie still, and say nothing till she came up again to me.

I WAS thoroughly frightened, that you may be sure of and thought of nothing but of being discover'd, betray'd, carried to *England*, hang'd, quarter'd, and all that was terrible, and my very Heart sunk within me; she perceiv'd my Disorder, and turn'd back, assuring me there was no Harm, desir'd me to be easy, and she would come back again presently, and give me Satisfaction in every particular that I could desire; so I composed myself a while as well as I could, but it was but a little while that I could bear it, and I sent *Pennico* down Stairs to find out her Mistress, and tell her I was very ill, and must speak with her immediately, and the Girl was scarce out of the Room before I jump'd out of Bed and began to dress me, that I might be ready for all Events.

MY Wife was as good as her Word, and was coming up as the Girl was coming down; I see, says she, you want Patience, but pray do not want Government of yourself, but take that Skreen before your face, and go to the Window, and see if you know any of those *Scotchmen* that are in the Yard, for there are seven or eight of them come about some Business to your Clerk.

I WENT and look'd through the Screen, and saw the Faces of them all distinctly, but could make nothing of them, other than that they were *Scotchmen*, which was

easy to discern; however it was no Satisfaction to me that I knew not their Faces, for they might know mine for all that, according to the old *English Proverb*, *That more knows Tom Fool, than Tom Fool knows*; so I kept close in my Chamber till I understood they were all gone.

AFTER this, my Wife caused it to be given out in the House that I was not well, and when this not being well had lasted three or four Days, I had my Leg wrap'd up in a great Piece of Flannel, and laid upon a Stool, and there I was lame of the Gout; and this serv'd for about six Weeks, when my Wife told me she had given it out, that my Gout was rather Rheumatick than a settled Gout, and that I was resolv'd to take one of my own Sloops, and go to *Nevis* or *Antegua*, and use the hot Baths there for my Cure.

ALL this was very well, and I approv'd my Wife's Contrivance as admirably good, both to keep me within Doors eight or ten Weeks at first, and to convey me away afterwards without any extraordinary Bustle to be made about it; but still I did not know what it all tended to, and what the Design of it all was, but my Wife desir'd me to leave that to her, so I readily did, and she carried it all on with a Prudence not to be disputed; and after she had wrapt my Legs in Flannel almost three Months, she came and told me the Sloop was ready, and all the Goods put on Board: And now, my Dear, says she, I come to tell you all the rest of my Design; for added she, I hope you will not think I am going to kidnap you, and transport you from *Virginia*, as other People are transported to it, or that I am going to get you sent away and leave myself in Possession of your Estate; but you shall find me the same faithful Creature, which I should have been if I had been

still your Slave, and not had any Hopes of being your Wife, and that in all my Scheme which I have laid for your Safety, in this new Exigence, I have not proposed your going one Step but where I shall go, and be always with you, to assist and serve you on all Occasions, and to take my Portion with you, of what kind soever our Lot may be.

THIS was so generous, and so handsome a Declaration of her Fidelity, and so great a Token too of the Goodness of her Judgment, in considering of the Things which were before her, and of what my present Circumstances called for, that from that Time forward, I gave myself chearfully up to her Management, without any Hesitation in the least, and in about Ten Days Preparation, we embark'd in a large Sloop of my own of about 60 Tun.

I SHOULD have mention'd here, that I had still my faithful Tutor (as I called him) at the Head of my Affairs, and as he knew who to correspond with, and how to manage the Correspondence in *England*, we left all that Part to him, as I had done before; and I did this with a full Satisfaction in his Ability as well as in his Integrity, it is true, he had been a little shagreen'd in that Affair of my Wife, who, as I hinted before, had married me, after telling him, in Answer to his Solicitations, that she had a Husband alive.

Now tho' this was literally true, yet as it was a Secret not fit to be open'd to him, I was obliged to put him off with other Reasons, as well as I could, perhaps not much to the Purpose, and perhaps not much to his Satisfaction; so that I reckon'd he look'd on himself as not very kindly used several Ways.

BUT he began to get over it, and to be easy, especially at our going away, when he found that the Trust of every Thing was still left in his Hands, as it was before.

WHEN my Wife had thus communicated every Thing of the Voyage to me, and we began to be ready to go off, she came to me one Morning, and with her usual Chearfulness told me, she now came to tell me the rest of her Measures for the compleating my Deliverance, and this was, that while we made this Trip as she call'd it, to the hot Springs at *Nevis*, she would write to a particular Friend at *London*, who she could depend upon, to try to get a Pardon for a Person on Account of the late Rebellion, with all the Circumstances which my Case was attended with, *viz.* of having acted nothing among them, but being three Days in the Place, and while we were thus absent, she did not question but to have an Answer, which she would direct to come so many Ways, that we would be sure to have the first of it, as soon as it was possible the Vessels could go and come; and in the mean Time the Expence should be very small, for she would have an Answer to the grand Question first, Whether it could be obtain'd or no? And then an Account of the Expence of it, that so I might judge for myself, whether I would part with the needful Sum or no, before any Money was disbursed on my Account.

ICOULD not but be thoroughly satisfy'd with her Contrivance in this particular, and I had nothing to add to it, but that I would not have her limit her Friend so strictly, but that if he saw the Way clear, and that he was sure to obtain it, he should go through stitch with it, if within the Expence of two, or three, or four Hundred Pounds, and that upon Advice of its being practicable, he should have

Bills payable by such a Person on Delivery of the Warrant for the Thing.

To fortify this, I enclosed in her Packet a Letter to one of my Correspondents, who I could particularly trust, with a Credit for the Money, on such and such Conditions; but the Honesty and Integrity of my Wife's Correspondence was such, as prevented all the Expence, and yet I had the wish'd for Security as if it had been all paid, as you shall hear presently.

ALL these Things being fix'd to our Minds, and all Things left behind in good Posture of Settlement as usual, we embark'd together and put to Sea, having the Opportunity of an *English* Man of War being on the Coast in Pursuit of the Pyrates, and who was just then standing away towards the Gulph of *Florida*, and told us he would see us safe as far as *New-Providence*, or the *Bahama Islands*.

AND now having fair Weather and a pleasant Voyage, and my Flannels taken off of my Legs, I must hint a little what Cargo I had with me, for as my Circumstances were very good in that Country, so I did not go such a Voyage as this, and with a particular Reserve of Fortunes whatever might afterward happen, without a sufficient Cargo for our Support, and whatever Exigence might happen.

OUR Sloop, as I said, was of about 60 or 70 Ton, and as Tobacco, which is the general Produce of the Country, was no Merchandize at *Nevis*, that is to say, for a great Quantity, so we carried very little, but loaded the Sloop with Corn, Pease, Meal, and some Barrels of Pork, and an excellent Cargo it was, most of it being the Produce of my own Plantation; we took also a considerable Sum of Money with us in *Spanish* Gold, which was as above, not.

for Trade, but for all Events: I also order'd another Sloop to be hir'd, and to be sent after me loaden with the same Goods, as soon as they should have Advice from me that I was safe arriv'd.

WE came to the Latitude of the Island of *Antegua*, which was very near to that of *Nevis*, whether we intended to go, on the 18th Day after our passing the Capes of *Virginia*, but had no sight of the Island, only our Master said he was sure if he stood the same Course as he then was, and the Gale held, I say he told me, he was sure he should make the Island in less than five Hours sail; so he stood on fair for the Islands: However his Account had fail'd him, for we held on all the Evening, made no Land, and likewise all Night, when in the grey of the Morning we discover'd from the Top-mast Head, a Brigantine, and a Sloop making Sail after us, at the Distance of about six Leagues, fair Weather, and the Wind fresh at S. E.

OUR Master soon understood what they were, and came down into the Cabbin to me, to let me know it; I was much surpriz'd you may be sure at the Danger, but my poor Wife took me off of all the Concern for myself to take Care of her, for she was frighted to that Degree, that I thought we should not have been able to keep Life in her.

WHILE we were thus under the first Hurry and Surprise of the Thing, suddenly another Noise from the Deck call'd us up to look out, and that was Land, Land, the Master and I, (for by this Time I had gotten out of my Cabbin) run upon the Deck, and there we saw the State of our Case very plain; the two Rogues that stood after us, laid on all the Canvas they could carry, and crowded after us amain; but at the Distance as I have said, of about six

Leagues, rather more than less, on the other Hand, the Land discover'd lay about nine Leagues right a Head; so that if the Pyrates could get of us, so as to sail three Foot for our two, it was evident they would be up with us before we could make the Island, if not, we should escape them and get in; but even then we had no great Hope to do any more, than to run the Ship ashore to save our Lives, and so stranding our Vessel, spoil both Sloop and Cargo.

WHEN we were making this Calculation, our Master came in chearfully, and told me he had crowded on more Sail, and found the Sloop carried it very well, and that he did not find the Rogues gain'd much upon us, and that especially if one of them did not, that was the Sloop he found he could go away from the Brigantine as he pleased: Thus we gave them what they call a stern Chase, and they work'd hard to come up with us till towards Noon, when on a sudden they both stood away, and gave us over, to our great Satisfaction you may be sure.

WE did not it seems so easily see the Occasion of our Deliverance, as the Pyrate did, for while we went spooning away large with the Wind, for one of the Islands, with those two Spurs in our Heels, that is, with these two Thieves at our Sterns: There lay an *English* Man of War in the Road of *Nevis*, which was the other Island from whence they espy'd the Pyrates, tho' the Land lying between, we could not see them.

As the Man of War discover'd them, she immediately slip'd her Cable, and put herself under Sail in Chase of the Rogues, and they as soon perceiv'd her, and being Windward, put themselves upon a Wind to escape her; and thus we were deliver'd, and in about an Hour more, we knew who was our Deliverer, seeing the Man of War

stretch a Head clear of the Island, and stand directly after the Pyrates, who now crowded from us as fast as they crowded after us before, and thus we got safe into *Antigua*, after the terrible Apprehension we had been in of being taken; our Apprehensions of being taken now, were much more than they would have been on Board a laden Ship, from, or to *London*, where the most they ordinarily do, is to rifle the Ship, take what is valuable and portable, and let her go; but ours being but a Sloop, and all our Loading being good Provisions, such as they wanted to be sure, for their Ships Store; they would certainly have carried us away, Ship and all, taken out the Cargo and the Men, and perhaps have set the Sloop on Fire; so that as to our Cargo of Gold it had been inevitably lost, and we hurry'd away, no Body knows where, and used as such barbarous Fellows are wont to use such innocent People as fall into their Hands.

BUT we are now out of their Hands, and had the Satisfaction a few Days after, to hear that the Man of War pursu'd them so close, notwithstanding they chang'd their Course in the Night, that the next Day they were oblig'd to separate, and shift for themselves; so the Man of War took one of them, namely, the Brigantine, and carried her into *Jamaica*, but the other, *viz.* the Sloop, made her Escape.

BEING arriv'd here, we presently dispos'd of our Cargo, and at a tolerable good Price; and now the Question was, what I should do next? I look'd upon myself to be safe here from the Fears I had been under of being discover'd as a Rebel, and so indeed I was, but having been now absent five Months, and having sent the Sloop back with a Cargo of Rum, and Melasses, such as I knew was want-

ing in my Plantations, I receiv'd the same Vessel back in return, loaden as at first, with Provisions.

WITH this Cargo my Wife receiv'd a Packet from *London*, from the Person who she had employ'd, (as above) to solicit a Pardon, who very honestly wrote to her, that he would not be so unjust to her Friend, whoever he was, as to put him to any Expence for a private Sollicitation; for that he was very well assur'd that his Majesty had resolv'd, from his own native Disposition to Acts of Clemency and Mercy to his Subjects, to grant a general Pardon, with some few Exceptions to Persons extraordinary, and he hoped her Friend was none of the Extraordinary Persons to be excepted.

THIS was a kind of Life from the Dead to us both, and it was resolv'd that my Wife should go back in the Sloop directly to *Virginia*, where she should wait the good News from *England*, and should send me an Account of it as soon as she receiv'd it.

ACCORDINGLY she went back, and came safe with the Sloop and Cargo to our Plantation, from whence, after above four Months Expectation, behold! the Sloop came to me again, but empty, and gutted of all her Cargo, except about 100 Sacks of unground Malt, which the Pyrates (not knowing how to Brew) knew not what to do with, and so had left in her: However, to my infinite Satisfaction, there was a Packet of Letters from my Wife, with another to her from *England*, as well one from her Friend, as one from my own Correspondent; both of them intimating, that the King had sign'd an Act of Grace, that is to say, a general free Pardon, and sent me Copies of the Act, wherein it was manifest I was fully included.

AND here let me hint, that having now, as it were, re-

ceiv'd my Life at the Hands of King *GEORGE*, and in a Manner so satyfing as it was to me, it made a generous Convert of me, and I became sincerely given in to the Interest of King *GEORGE*; and this from a Principle of Gratitude, and a Sense of my Obligation to his Majesty for my Life; and it has continu'd ever since, and will certainly remain with me as long as any Sense of Honour, and of the Debt of Gratitude remains with me: I mention this to hint how far in such Cases Justice, and Duty to ourselves commands us; namely, that to those who graciously give us our Lives, when it is in their Power to take them away; those Lives are a Debt ever after, and ought to be set a-part for their Service, and Interest, as long as any of the Powers of Life remain; for Gratitude is a Debt that never ceases while the Benefit receiv'd remains; and if my Prince has given me my Life, I can never pay the Debt fully, unless such a Circumstance as this should happen, that the Prince's Life should be in my Power, and I as generously preserv'd it; and yet neither would the Obligation be paid then, because the Cases would differ; thus, that my preserving the Life of my Prince was my natural Duty, whereas the Prince on his Side (my Life being forfeited to him) had no Motive but meer Clemency and Beneficence.

PERHAPS this Principle may not please all that read it; but as I have resolv'd to guide my Actions in Things of such a Nature, by the Rules of strict Virtue and Principles of Honour; so I must lay it down as a Rule of Honour, that a Man having once forfeited his Life to the Justice of his Prince, and to the Laws of his Country, and receiving it back as a Bounty from the Grace of his Sovereign, such a Man can never lift up his Hand again against

that Prince, without a Forfeiture of his Virtue, and an irreparable Breach of his Honour and Duty, and deserves no Pardon after it, either from God or Man; but all this is a Digression, I leave it as a Sketch of the Laws of Honour, printed by the Laws of Nature in the Breast of a Soldier, or a Man of Honour, and which I believe all impartial Persons, who understand what Honour means, will subscribe to.

BUT I return now to my present Circumstances; my Wife was gone, and with her, all my good Fortune, and Success in Business, seem'd to have forsaken me; and I had another Scene of Misery to go thro', after I had thought that all my Misfortunes were over, and at an End.

MY Sloop, as I have told you, arriv'd, but having met with a Pyrate Rogue, in the Gulph of *Florida*, they took her first, then finding her Cargo to be all Eatables, which they always want, they gutted her of all her Loading, except (as I have said) about 100 Sacks of Malt, which they really knew not what to do with; and which was still worse, they took away all the Men, except the Master and two Boys, who they left on Board, just to run the Vessel into *Antegoa*, where they said they were bound.

BUT the most valuable Part of my Cargo, *viz.* a Packet of Letters from *England*, those they left, to my inexpressible Comfort and Satisfaction; and particularly, that by those, I saw my Way open to return to my Wife, and to my Plantations, from which I promised myself never to wander any more.

IN order to this, I now embark'd myself, and all my Effects on board the Sloop, resolving to sail directly to the Capes of *Virginia*, my Captain beating it up to reach

the *Bahama* Channel, had not been two Days at Sea, but we were overtaken with a violent Storm, which drove us so far upon the Coast of *Florida*, as that we twice struck upon the Shore, and had we struck a third Time, we had been inevitably lost. A Day or two after that, the Storm abating a little, we kept the Sea, but found the Wind blowing so strong against our passing the Gulph, and the Sea going so high, we could not hold it any longer; so we were forced to bear away, and make what Shift we could; in which Distress, the fifth Day after, we made Land, but found it to be Cape ——— the North West Part of the Isle of *Cuba*: Here we found ourselves under a Necessity to run in under the Land for Shelter, tho' we had not come to an Anchor, so we had not touch'd the King of *Spain's* Territories at all. However, in the Morning, we were surrounded with five *Spanish* Barks, or Boats, such as they call *Barco Longos*, full of Men; who instantly boarded us, took us, and carry'd us into the *Havana*, the most considerable Port belonging to the *Spaniards* in that Part of the World.

HERE the Sloop was immediately seiz'd, and in Consequence plunder'd, as any one that knows the *Spaniards*, especially in that Country, will easily guess, our Men were made Prisoners, and sent to the common Goal; and as for myself, and the Captain, we were carry'd before the *Alcade Major*, or Intendant of the Place, as Criminals.

I SPOKE *Spanish* very well, having served under the King of *Spain* in *Italy*, and it stood me in good stead at this Time; for I so effectually argued the Injustice of their Treatment of me, that the Governor, or what I ought to call him, frankly own'd they ought not to have stopp'd me, seeing I was in the open Sea, pursuing my Voyage,

and offer'd no Offence to any Body, and had not landed, or offer'd to land upon any Part of his *Catholick* Majesty's Dominions, till I was brought in as a Prisoner.

It was a great Favour, that I could obtain thus much, but I found it easier to obtain an Acknowledgment that I had receiv'd Wrong, than to get any Satisfaction for that Wrong, and much less was there any Hope or Prospect of Restitution: And I was let know, that I was to wait, till an Account could be sent to the Viceroy of *Mexico*, and Orders could be received back from him, how to act in the Affair.

I COULDEasily foresee what all this tended to, namely, to a Confiscation of the Ship and Goods, by the ordinary Process at the Place; and that my being left to the Decision of the Viceroy of *Mexico*, was but a pretended Representation of Things to him from the Corregidore or Judge of the Place.

HOWEVER, I had no Remedy, but the old insignificant Thing, call'd *Patience*; and this I was better furnish'd with, because I did not so much value the Loss as I made them believe I did; my greatest Apprehensions were, that they would detain me, and keep me as a Prisoner for Life, and perhaps send me to their Mines in *Peru*, as they have done many, and pretended to do to all that come on Shore in their Dominions, how great so ever the Distresses may have been which have brought them thither, and which has been the Reason why others, who have been forc'd on Shore, have committed all manner of Violence upon the *Spaniards* in their turn; resolving, however dear they sold their Lives, not to fall into their Hands.

BUT I got better Quarter among them, than that too, which was (as I have said) much of it owing to my speak-

ing *Spanish*, and to my telling them how I had fought in so many Occasions in the Quarrel of his *Catholick* Majesty, in *Italy*, and by great good Chance, I had the King of *France's* Commission for Lieutenant Colonel, in the *Irish* Brigade in my Pocket, where it was mention'd, that the said Brigade was then serving in the Armies of *France*, under the Orders of his *Catholick* Majesty in *Italy*.

I FAIL'D not to talk up the Gallantry and personal Bravery of his *Catholick* Majesty, on all Occasions, and particularly in many Battles, where (by the Way) his Majesty had never been at all, and in some, where I had never been myself; but I found I talk'd to People who knew nothing of the Matter, and so any Thing went down with them, if it did but praise the King of *Spain*, and talk big of the *Spanish* Cavalry, of which, God knows, there was not one Regiment in the Army, at least while I was there.

HOWEVER, this Way of managing myself, obtain'd me the Liberty of the Place, upon my Parole, that I would not attempt an Escape; and I obtain'd also, which was a great Favour, to have 200 Pieces of Eight allow'd me out of the Sale of my Cargo, for Subsistence, till I could negotiate my Affairs at *Mexico*; as for my Men, they were maintain'd as Prisoners, at the Publick Charge.

WELL, after several Months Solicitation and Attendance, all I could obtain was, the Satisfaction of seeing my Ship and Cargo confiscated, and my poor Sailors in a fair Way to be sent to the Mines: The last I begg'd off, upon Condition of paying 300 Pieces of Eight for their Ransom, and having them set on Shore at *Antegoa*, and myself to remain Hostage for the Payment of the said 300 Pieces of Eight, and for 200 Pieces of Eight, which I had already had, and for 500 Pieces of Eight more for my own Ran-

som, if upon a Return from *Mexico*, the Sentence of Confiscation, as above, should be confirm'd by the Vice-roy.

THESE were hard Articles indeed, but I was forced to submit to them: Nor, as my Circumstances were above all such Matters as these, as to Substance, did I lay it much to Heart; the greatest Difficulty that lay in my Way was, that I knew not how to correspond with my Friends in any Part of the World, or which Way to supply myself with Necessaries, or with Money for the Payment I had agreed to: The *Spaniards* being so tenacious of their Ports, that they allowed no Body to come on Shore, or indeed near the Shore, from any Part of the World, upon Pain of Seizure and Confiscation, as had been my Case already.

UPON this Difficulty I began to reason with the *Corregidore*, and tell him, that he put Things upon us that were impossible, and that were inconsistent with the Customs of Nations; that if a Man was a Prisoner at *Algiers*, they would allow him to write to his Friends to pay his Ransom, and would admit the Person that brought it to come and go free, as a publick Person, and if they did not, no Treaty could be carry'd on for the Ransom of a Slave, nor the Conditions be perform'd when they are agreed upon.

I BROUGHT it then down to my own Case, and desired to know, upon Supposition, that I might, within the Time limited in that Agreement, have the Sums of Money ready for the Ransom of my Men, and of myself, how I should obtain to have Notice given me of it? Or, how it should be brought, seeing the very Persons bringing that Notice, or afterwards presuming to bring the Money, might be liable to be seiz'd and confiscated, as I had been,

and the Money itself be taken as a second Prize, without redeeming the first.

THO' this was so reasonable a Request, that it could not be withstood, in point of Argument, yet the *Spaniard* shrunk his head into his Shoulders, and said, they had not Power sufficient to act in such a Case; that the King's Laws were so severe against the suffering any Strangers to set their Foot on his *Catholick* Majesty's Dominions in *America*, and they could not dispense with the least Tittle of them, without a particular *Assiento*, (as they called it) from the *Consulado*, or Chamber of Commerce at *Seville*; or, a Command under the Hand and Seal of the Viceroy of *Mexico*.

How! Seignior *Corregidore* (said I) with some Warmth, and, as it were, with Astonishment, have you not Authority enough to sign a Passport for an Agent, or Ambassador, to come on Shore here, from any of the King of *Great-Britain's* Governors in these Parts, under a white Flag, or Flag of Truce, to speak with the Governor of this Place, or with any other Person in the King's Name, on the Subject of such Business as the Governor may have to communicate? Why, said I, if you cannot do that, you cannot act according to the Law of Nations.

HE shook his Head, but still said *No, he could not do even so much as that*; but here one of the Military Governors put in and oppos'd him, and they two differ'd warmly; the first insisting that their Orders were deficient in that Particular; but the other said, that as they were bound up to them, it could not be in their Power to act otherwise, and that they were answerable for the ill Consequences.

WELL then, says the Governor to the *Corregidore*, now

you have kept this *Englishman* as Hostage for the Ransom of the Men, that you have dismiss'd; suppose he tells you, the Money is ready, either at such, or such, or such a Place, How shall he bring it hither? You will take all the People Prisoners that offer to bring it; What must he do? If you say you will send and fetch it, What Security shall he have, that he shall have his Liberty when it is paid you? And why should he trust you so far, as to pay the Money, and yet remain here a Prisoner?

THIS carried so much Reason with it, that the *Corregidore* knew not what to say; but that so was the Law, and he could act no otherwise, but by the very Letter of it; and here each was so positive, that nothing could determine it, but another Express to be sent to the Viceroy of *Mexico*.

UPON this, the Governor was so kind, as to say he would get me a Passport for any Body that should bring the Money, and any Vessel they were in, by his own Authority, and for their safe returning, and taking me with them, provided I would answer for it, that they should bring no *European*, or other Goods whatever with them, and should not set Foot on Shore without his express Permission, and provided he did not receive Orders to the contrary, in the mean Time, from any superior Hand, and that even in such a Case, they should have Liberty to go back freely from whence they came, under the Protection of a white Flag.

I bow'd very respectfully to the Governor, in token of my acknowledging his Justice, and then presented my humble Petition to him, that he would allow my Men to take their own Sloop, that it should be rated at a certain Value, and would be oblig'd they should bring Specie

on Board with them, and that they should either pay it for the Sloop, or leave the Sloop again.

THEN he enquired to what Country I would send them for so much Money, and if I could assure him of the Payment; and when he understood it was no farther than to *Virginia*, he seem'd very easy, and to satisfy the *Corregidore*, who still stood off, adhering with a true *Spanish* Stiffness to the Letter of the Law; the said Governor calls out to me: Seignior, (says he) I shall make all this Matter easy to you, if you agree to my Proposal; your Men shall have the Sloop, on Condition you shall be my Hostage for her Return; but they shall not take her as your Sloop, tho' she shall in the Effect be yours, on the Payment of the Money; but you shall take two of my Men on Board with you upon your Parole, for their safe Return, and when she returns, she shall carry his *Catholick* Majesty's Colours, and be enter'd as one of the Sloops belonging to the *Havana*; one of the *Spaniards* to be Commander, and to be call'd by such a Name as he should appoint.

THIS the *Corregidore* came into immediately, and said, this was within the Letter of the King's Commanderie, or Precept, upon Condition, however, that she should bring no *European* Goods on Board. I desir'd it might be put in other Words; namely, that she should bring no *European* Goods on Shore: It cost two Days Debate between these two, whether it should pass, that no *European* Goods should be brought in the Ship, or brought on Shore; but having found Means to intimate, that I meant not to Trade there, but would not be tied from bringing a small Present to a certain Person, in acknowledgement of Favours; I say, after I had found Room to place such a Hint right, where it should be plac'd, I found it was all made

easy to me, and it was all agreed presently, that after the Ransom was paid, and the Ship also bought, it was but reasonable, that I should have Liberty to Trade to any other Country, not in the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, so to make up my Losses; and that it would be hard to oblige my Men to bring away the Vessel light, and so lose the Voyage, and add so much to our former Misfortunes; that so long as no Goods were brought on Shore in the Country belonging to his *Catholick* Majesty's Dominions, which was all that they had to defend, that the rest was no Business of theirs.

Now I began to see my Way thro' this unhappy Business, and to find, that as Money would bring me out of it, so Money would bring it to turn to a good Account another Way; wherefore I sent the Sloop away under *Spanish* Colours, and call'd her the *Nuestra Señora de la Val de Grace*, command by Seignior *Giraldo de Nesma*, one of the two *Spaniards*.

With the Sloop I sent Letters to my Wife, and to my chief Manager, with Orders to load her back, as I there directed, *viz.* That she should have 200 Barrels of Flower, 50 Barrels of Pease, and to answer my other Views, I ordered 100 Bales to be made up of all Sorts of *European* Goods, such as not my own Ware-houses only would supply, but such as they could be supply'd with in other Ware-houses, where I knew they had Credit for any Thing.

In this Cargo I directed all the richest, and most valuable *English* Goods they had, or could get, whether Linnen, Woollen or Silk, to be made up; the coarser Things, such as we use in *Virginia*, for cloathing of *Servants*, such I ordered to be left behind, for the Use of the Plantation:

In less than seven Weeks Time the Sloop return'd, and I, that fail'd not every Day to look out for her on the Strand, was the first that spy'd her at Sea at a Distance, and knew her by her Sails, but afterwards more particularly by her Signals.

WHEN she return'd, she came into the Road with her *Spanish* Antient flying, and came to an Anchor, as directed; but I, that had seen her some Hours before, went directly to the Governor, and gave him an Account of her being come, and fain I would have obtain'd the Favour to have his Excellence (as I call'd him) go on Board in Person, that he might see how well his Orders were executed; but he declin'd that, saying, he could not justify going off of the *Island*, which was, in short, to go out of his Command of the Fort, which he could not re-assume without a new Commission from the King's own Hand.

THEN I ask'd Leave to go on Board myself, which he granted me, and I brought on Shore with me the full sum in Gold, which I had condition'd to pay for the Ransom, both of my Men and myself, and for the Purchase of the Sloop; and as I obtain'd Leave to land in a different Place, so my Governor sent his Son with six Soldiers, to receive and convey me with the Money to the Castle, where he commanded, and therein to his own House: I had made up the Money in heavy Parcels, as if it had been all Silver, and gave it to two of my Men, who belong'd to the Sloop, with Orders to them, that they should make it seem, by their carrying it, to be much heavier than it was; this was done to conceal three Parcels of Goods, which I had pack'd up with the Money, to make a Present to the Governor, as I intended.

WHEN the Money was carried in, and laid down on a

Table, my Governor order'd the Men to withdraw, and I gave the Soldiers each of them a Piece of Eight to drink, for which they were very thankful, and the Governor seem very well pleas'd with it also: Then I ask'd him pleasantly if he would please to receive the Money, he said no, he would not receive it, but in Presence of the *Corregidore*, and the other People concern'd; then I begg'd his Excellency (as I call'd him) to give me Leave to open the Parcels in his Presence, for that I would do myself the Honour to acknowledge his Favours in the best Manner I could.

HE told me no, he could not see any Thing be brought on Shore, but the Money; but if I had brought any Thing on Shore for my own Use, he would not be so strict to enquire into that, so I might do what I pleas'd myself.

UPON that I went into the Place, shut myself in, and having open'd all the Things, and placed them to my Mind: There was five little Parcels, as follows,

- 1, 2. A Piece of 20 Yards fine *English* Broad-Cloth, 5 Yards of Black, 5 Yards of Crimson, in one Parcel, and the rest of fine Mixtures in another Parcel.
3. A Piece of 30 Ells of fine *Holland* Linnen.
4. A Piece of 18 Yards of fine *English* brocaded Silk.
5. A Piece of black *Colchester* Bays.

AFTER I had plac'd these by themselves, I found Means with some seeming Difficulties, and much Grimace, to bring him to know that this was intended for a Present to himself: After all that Part was over, and he had seem'd to accept them, signified, after walking a hundred Turns

and more in the Room by them, by throwing his Hat, which was under his Arm, upon them, and making a very stiff Bow, I say, after this, he seem'd to take his Leave of me for a while, and I waited in an outer Room, when I was call'd in again; I found that he had look'd over all the Particulars, and caus'd them to be remov'd out of the Place.

BUT when I came again, I found him quite another Man; he thank'd me for my Present, told me, it was a Present fit to be given to a Viceroy of *Mexico*, rather than to a meer Governor of a Fort, that he had done me no Services suitable to such a Return, but that he would see if he could not oblige me farther before I left the Place.

AFTER our Compliments were over, I obtain'd to have the *Corregidore* sent for, who accordingly came, and in his Presence the Money, stipulated for the Ransome of the Ship, and of the Men, was paid.

BUT here the *Corregidore* shew'd that he would be as severely just on my Side, as on theirs, for he would not admit the Money as a Ransom for us as Prisoners, but as a Deposit for so much as we were to be ransom'd for, if the Sentence for our being made Prisoners should be confirm'd.

AND then the Governor and *Corregidore* joining together, sent a Representation of the whole Affair, at least we were told so, to the Viceroy of *Mexico*; and it was privately hinted to me, that I would do well to stay for the Return of the *Aviso*, that is, a Boat which they send over the Bay to *Vera Cruz*, with an Express to *Mexico*, whose Return is generally perform'd in two Months.

I WAS not unwilling to stay, having secret Hints given me, that I should find some Way to go with my Sloop to-

wards *Vera Cruiz* myself, where I might have an Occasion to Trade privately for the Cargo which I had on Board; but it came about a nearer Way, for about two Days after this Money being deposited, (as above) the Governor's Son invited himself on Board my Sloop, where I told him I would be very glad to see him, and whither at the same Time he brought with him three considerable Merchants, *Spaniards*, two of them not Inhabitants of the Place.

WHEN they were on Board, they were very merry and pleasant, and I treated them so much to their Satisfaction, that in short, they were not well able to go on Shore for that Night, but were content to take a Nap on some Carpets which I caus'd to be spread for them, and that the Governor's Son might think himself well us'd, I brought him a very good Silk Night-Gown, with a Crimson Velvet Cap to lie down in, and in the Morning desir'd him to accept of them for his use, which he took very kindly.

DURING that merry Evening, one of the Merchants not so touch'd with Drink as the young Gentleman, nor so, as not to mind what it was he came about, takes an Occasion to withdraw out of the great Cabbin, and enter into a Parley with the Master of the Sloop, in order to Trade for what *European* Goods we had on Board; the Master took the Hint, and gave me Notice of what had pass'd, and I gave him Instructions what to say, and what to do; according to which Instructions, they made but few Words, for about 5000 Pieces of Eight, and carried the Goods away themselves, at and their own Hazards.

THIS was very agreeable to me, for now I began to see I should lick myself whole, by the Sale of this Cargo, and should make myself full amends of *Jack Spaniard*, for all

the Injuries he had done me in the first of these Things; with this View I gave my Master, or Captain of the Sloop, Instructions for Sale of all the rest of the Goods, and left him to manage by himself, which he did so well, that he sold the whole Cargo the next Day to the three *Spaniards*, with this additional Circumstance, that they desir'd the Sloop might carry the Goods, as they were on Board, to such Part of the *Terra Firma*, as they should appoint between the *Honduras* and the Coast of *La Vera Cruz*.

It was difficult for me to make good this Part of the Bargain, but finding the Price agreed for would very well answer the Voyage, I consented; but then how to send the Sloop away, and remain among the *Spaniards*, when I was now a clear Man, this was a Difficulty too, as it was also to go away, and not wait for a favourable Answer from the Viceroy of *Mexico*, to the Representation of the Governor and the *Corregidore*; however, at last resolv'd to go in the Sloop, fall out what would, so I went to the Governor, and represented to him, that being now to expect a favourable Answer from *Mexico*, it would be a great Loss to me to keep the Sloop there all the while, and I desir'd his Leave for me to go with the Sloop to *Antegoa*, to sell and dispose of the Cargo, which he well knew I was oblig'd not to bring on Shore there at the *Havana*, and which would be in Danger of being spoil'd by lying so long on Board.

This I obtain'd readily, with License to come again into the Road, and (for myself only) to come on Shore, in order to hear the Viceroy's Pleasure in my Case, which was depending.

HAVING thus obtain'd a License at, or Passport for the Sloop and myself, I put to Sea with the three *Spanish Mer-*

chants on Board with me; they told me, they did not live at the *Havana*, but it seems one of them did; and some rich Merchants, of the *Havana*, or of the Parts thereabouts in the same *Island*, were concern'd with them; for they brought on Board, that Night we put to Sea, a great Sum of Money in Pieces of Eight, and, as I understood afterwards, that these Merchants bought the Cargo of me, and tho' they gave me a very great Price for every Thing, yet that they sold them again to the Merchants, who they procur'd on the Coast of *La Vera Cruiz*, at a prodigious Advantage; so that they got above a Hundred *per Cent*, after I had gain'd very sufficiently before.

WE sail'd from the *Havana* directly for *Vera Cruiz*, I scrupled venturing into the Port at first, and was very uneasy, least I should have another *Spanish Trick* put upon me; but as we sail'd under *Spanish Colours*, they shew'd us such authentick Papers from the proper Officers, that there was no Room to fear any Thing.

HOWEVER, when we came in Sight of the *Spanish Coast*, I found that they had a secret clandestine Trade to carry on, which tho' it was secret, yet they knew the Way of it so well, that it was but a meer Road to them. The Case was this, we stood in close under Shore in the Night, about six Leagues to the North of the Port, where two of the three Merchants went on Shore in the Boat, and in three Hours, or thereabouts, they came on Board again with five Canoes, and seven or eight Merchants more with them, and as soon as they were on Board, we stood off to Sea, so that by Day-light we were quite out of Sight of Land.

I OUGHT to have mention'd before, that as soon as we were put to Sea from the *Havana*, and during our Voyage into the Gulph of *Mexico*, which was eight Days, we rum-

ag'd the whole Cargo, and opening every Bale, as far as the *Spanish* Merchants desired, we traffick'd with them for the whole Cargo, except the Barrells of Flower and Pease.

THIS Cargo was considerable in itself, for my Wife's Account, or Invoice, drawn out by my Tutor, and Manager, amounted to 2684 *l.* 10 *s.* and I sold the whole, including what had been sold in the Evening, when they were on Board first, (as I have said) for 38593 Pieces of Eight, and they allow'd me 1200 Pieces of Eight for the Freight of the Sloop, and made my Master and the Seamen very handsome Presents besides, and they were well able to do this too, as you shall hear presently.

AFTER we were gotten out of Sight of Land, the *Spaniards* fell to their Traffick, and our three Merchants open'd their Shop, as they might say, for it was their Shop; as to me, I had nothing to do with it, or with their Goods, they drove their Bargain in a few Hours, and at Night we stood in again for the Shore, when the five Canoes carry'd a great part of the Goods on Shore, and brought the Money back in Specie, as well for that they carry'd as for all the rest, and at their second Voyage carry'd all away clear, leaving me nothing on Board but my Barrells of Flower and Pease, which they bad me Money for too, but not so much as I expected.

HERE I found that my *Spanish* Merchants made above 70000 Pieces of Eight of the Cargo I had sold them, upon which, I had a great Mind to be acquainted with those Merchants on the *Terra Firma*, who were the last Customers, for it presently occur'd to me, that I could easily go with a Sloop from *Virginia*, and taking a Cargo directed on Purpose from *England*, of about 5 or 6000 *l.* I might easily make four of one; with this View I began to make a

kind of an Acquaintance with the *Spaniards* which came in the Canoes, and we became so intimate, that at last, with the Consent of the three *Spaniards* of the *Havana*, I accepted an Invitation on Shore to their House, which was a little Villa, or rather Plantation, where they had an *Ingenio*, that is to say, a Sugar-house, or Sugar-Work, and there they treated us like Princes.

I took Occasion at this Invitation to say, that if I knew how to find my Way thither again, I could visit them once or twice a Year, very much to their Advantage and mine too: One of the *Spaniards* took the Hint, and taking me into a Room by myself, *Seignior*, says he, if you have any Thoughts of coming to this Place again, I shall give you such Directions as you shall be sure not to mistake, and upon either coming on Shore in the Night, and coming up to this Place, or, upon making the Signals which we shall give you, we will not fail to come off to you, and bring Money enough for any *Cargaison*, so they call it, that you shall bring.

I took all their Directions, took their Paroles of Honour for my Safety, and without taking any Notice to my first three Merchants, laid up all the rest in my most secret Thoughts, resolving to visit them again in as short a Time as I could; and thus, having in about five Days finished all our Merchandizing, we stood off to Sea, and made for the Island of *Cuba*, where I set my three *Spaniards* on Shore with all their Treasure, to their Hearts Content, and made the best of my Way to *Antigua*, where with all the Dispatch I could, I sold my 200 Barrels of Flower, which however, had suffer'd a little, by the length of the Voyage, and having laden the Sloop with Rum, Molasses, and Sugar, I set Sail again for the *Havana*.

I WAS now uneasy indeed, for Fear of the Pyrates, for I was a rich Ship, having besides Goods, near 40000 Pieces of Eight in Silver.

WHEN I came back to the *Havana*, I went on Shore to wait on the Governor and the *Corregidore*, and to hear what Return was had from the Viceroy, and had the good Fortune to know that the Viceroy had disallow'd that Part of the Sentence which condemn'd us as Prisoners, and put a Ransom on us, which he insisted could not be, but in Time of open War; but as to the Confiscation, he deferr'd it to the Chamber or Council of Commerce at *Sevil*, and the Appeal to the King if such be preferr'd.

THIS was in some Measure, a very good Piece of Justice in the Viceroy, for as we had not been on Shore, we could not be legally imprison'd; and for the rest, I believe if I would have given myself the Trouble to have gone to old *Spain*, and have preferr'd my Claim to both the Ship and the Cargo, I had recover'd them also.

HOWEVER as it was, I was now a free Man without Ransom, and my Men were also free, so that all the Money which I had deposited, as above, was return'd me; and thus I took my Leave of the *Havana*, and made the best of my Way for *Virginia*, where I arriv'd after a Year and a half Absence, and notwithstanding all my Losses, came Home above 4000 Pieces of Eight richer than I went out.

As to the old Affair about the *Preston* Prisoners, that was quite at an End, for the general Pardon past in Parliament made me perfectly easy, and I took no more Thought about that Part: I might here very usefully observe, how necessary and inseparable a Companion Fear is to Guilt; it was but a few Months that the Face of a poor *Preston* Transport, would have frighted me out of my Wits; to

avoid them I fain'd myself sick, and wrapt my Legs in Flannel, as if I had the Gout, whereas now, they were no more Surprize to me, nor was I any more uneasy to see them, than I was to see any other of the Servants of the Plantations.

AND that which was more particular than all was, that tho' before I fancied every one of them would know me, and remember me, and consequently betray and accuse me; now, tho' I was frequently among them, and saw most of them, and if not all of them, one Time or other, nay, tho' I remember'd several of their Faces, and even some of their Names, yet there was not a Man of them that ever took the least Notice of me, or of having known or seen me before.

It would have been a singular Satisfaction to me, if I could have known so much as this of them before, and had saved me all the Fatigue, Hazard, and Misfortune that befell me afterwards; but Man, a short sighted Creature, sees so little before him, that he can neither anticipate his Joys, nor prevent his Disasters, be they ever so little a Distance from him.

I HAD now my Head full of my *West-India* Project, and I began to make Provision for it accordingly; I had a full Account of what *European* Goods were most acceptable in *New Spain*, and to add to my Speed, I knew that the *Spaniards* were in great want of *European* Goods; the Galleons from *Old Spain* having been delay'd to an unusual length of Time, for the two Years before: Upon this Account, having not Time, as I thought, to send to *England* for a Cargo of such Goods as were most proper; I resolv'd to load my Sloop with Tobacco and Rum, the last I brought from *Antigua*, and go away to *Boston* in *New*

England, and to *New-York*, and see if I could pick up a Cargo to my Mind.

ACCORDINGLY I took 20000 Pieces of Eight in Money, and my Sloop laden as above, and taking my Wife with me, we went away; it was an odd and new Thing at *New-England*, to have such a quantity of Goods bought up there by a Sloop from *Virginia*, and especially to be paid for in ready Money, as I did for most of my Goods; and this set all the Trading Heads upon the Stretch, to enquire what, and who I was, to which they had an immediate and direct Answer, that I was a very considerable Planter in *Virginia*, and that was all, any of my Men on Board the Sloop could tell of me, and enough too.

WELL, it was the Cause of much Speculation among them, as I heard at second and third Hands; some said, he is certainly going to *Jamaica*, others said, he is going to Trade with the *Spaniards*; others, that he is going to the *South-Sea*, and turn half Merchant, half Pyrate, on the Coast of *Chily* and *Peru*; some one Thing, some another, as the Men Gossips found their Imaginations directed: But we went on with our Business, and laid out 12000 Pieces of Eight, besides our Cargo of Rum and Tobacco, and went from thence to *New-York*, where we laid out the rest.

THE chief of the Cargo we bought here was, fine *English* Broad Cloth, Serges, Druggets, *Norwich* Stuffs, Bays, Says, and all kinds of Woollen Manufactures, as also Linnen of all sorts, a very great Quantity, and near a 1000 *l.* in fine Silks, of several Sorts.

BEING thus freighted, I came back safe to *Virginia*, and with very little Addition to my Cargo, began to prepare for my *West-India* Voyage.

I SHOULD have mention'd, that I had built upon my Sloop, and raised her a little, so that I had made her carry 12 Guns, and fitted her up for Defence, for I thought she should not be attack'd and Boarded by a few *Spanish Barco Longos*, as she was before; and I found the Benefit of it afterwards, as you shall hear.

WE set Sail the beginning of *August*, and as I had twice been attack'd by Pyrates in passing the Gulph of *Florida*, or among the *Babama* Islands, I resolv'd, tho' it was farther about to stand off to Sea, and so keep as I believ'd it would be, out of the Way of them.

WE passed the Tropick as near as we could guess, just where the famous Sir *William Phipps* fish'd up the Silver from the *Spanish* Plate Wreck, and standing in between the Islands, kept our Course W. by S. keeping under the Isle of *Cuba*, and so running away, Trade, as they call it, into the great Gulph of *Mexico*, leaving the Island of *Jamaica* to the S. and S. E. by this Means avoiding, as I thought, all the *Spaniards* of *Cuba*, or the *Havana*.

As we passed the West Point of *Cuba*, three *Spanish* Boats came off to Board us, as they had done before, on the other Side of the Island; but they found themselves mistaken, we were too many for them, for we run out our Guns, which they did not perceive before, and firing three or four Shot at them, they retir'd.

THE next Morning they appear'd again, being five large Boats and a Bark, and gave us Chase; but we then spread our *Spanish* Colours, and brought too to fight them, at which they retir'd, so we escaped this Danger by the Addition of Force which we had made to our Vessel.

WE now had a fair run for our Port, and as I had taken very good Directions, I stood away to the North of St.

John d'Ulva, and then running in for the Shore, found the Place appointed exactly, and going on Shore, I sent the Master of my Sloop directly to the *Ingenio*, where he found the *Spanish* Merchant at his House, and where he dwelt like a little Sovereign Prince, who welcom'd him, and understanding that I was in a particular Boat at the *Creek*, as appointed, he came immediately with him, and bringing another *Spaniard* from a *Villa* not far off, in about four Hours they were with me.

THEY would have perswaded me to go up to their Houses, and have staid there till the next Night, ordering the Sloop to stand off as usual, but I would not consent to let the Sloop go to Sea without me, so we went on Board directly, and as the Night was almost run, stood off to Sea, so by Day-break we were quite out of Sight of Land.

HERE we began, as I said before, to open Shop, and I found the *Spaniards* were extreemly surpriz'd at seeing such a Cargo, I mean so large, for in short, they had cared not if it had been four Times as much: They soon ran thro' the Contents of all the Bales we open'd that Night, and with very little Dispute about the Price they approv'd, and accepted all that I show'd them; but as they said, they had not Money for any greater Parcel, they agreed to go on Shore the next Evening for more Money.

HOWEVER, we spent the Remainder of the Night in looking over and making Inventories, or Invoyses of the rest of the Cargo, that so they might see the Goods, know the Value, and know what more Money they had to bring.

ACCORDINGLY, in the Evening we stood in for the Shore, and they carried Part of the Cargo with them, borrowing the Sloop's Boat to assist them, and after they had lodg'd and landed the Goods, they came on Board again, bring-

ing three of the other Merchants with them, who were concern'd before, and Money enough to clear the whole Ship, ay, and Ship and all, if I had been willing to sell her.

To give them their due, they dealt with me like Men of Honour; they were indeed sensible that they bought every Thing much cheaper of me, than they did before of the three Merchants of the *Havana*; these Merchants having been as it were the Hucksters, and bought them first of me, and then advanc'd, as I have said, above 100 *per Cent.* upon the Price they gave me; but yet at the same Time I advanc'd in the Price much more now, than I did before to the said *Spaniards*, nor was it without Reason, because of the length and risque of the Voyage, both out and Home, which now lay wholly upon me.

In short, I sold the whole Cargo to them, and for which I receiv'd near 200,000 Pieces of Eight in Money, besides which, when they came on Board the second Time, they brought all their Boats loaden with fresh Provisions, Hogs, Sheep, Fowls, Sweetmeats, &c. enough for my whole Voyage, all which they made a Present to me of, and thus we finish'd our Traffick to our mutual Satisfaction, and parted with Promises of farther Commerce, and with Assurances on their Part of all Acts of Friendship and Assistance, that I could desire, if any Disaster should befall me in any of these Adventures; as indeed was not improbable, considering the Strictness and Severity of their Customs, in case any People were taken Trading upon their Coast.

I IMMEDIATELY call'd a Council with my little Crew, which Way we should go back; the Mate was for beating it up to Windward, and getting up to *Jamaica*, but as we were too rich to run any Risques, and were to take the

best Course to get safe Home, I thought, and so did the Master of the Sloop, that our best Way was to Coast about the Bay, and keeping the Shore of *Florida* on Board, make the shortest Course to the Gulph, and so make for the Coast of *Carolina*, and to put in there into the first Port we could, and wait for any *English* Men of War that might be on the Coast to secure us to the *Capes*.

THIS was the best Course we could take, and prov'd very safe to us, excepting that about the Cape of *Florida*, and on the Coast in the Gulph, till we came to the height of St. *Augustine*; we were several Times visited with the *Spaniards Barco Longos*, and small Barks, in Hopes of making a Prize of us; but carrying *Spanish* Colours, deceiv'd most of them, and a good Tire of Guns kept the rest at a Distance, so that we came safe, tho' once or twice in Danger of being run on Shore by a Storm of Wind; I say, we came safe into *Charles* River in *Carolina*.

FROM hence I found Means to send a Letter Home, with an Account to my Wife of my good Success, and having an Account that the Coast was clear of Pyrates, tho' there were no Men of War in the Place, I ventur'd forward, and in short, got safe into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, that is to say, within the Capes of *Virginia*, and in a few Days more to my own House, having been absent three Months and four Days.

NEVER did any Vessel on this Side the World make a better Voyage in so short a Time, than I made in this Sloop, for by the most moderate Computation, I clear'd in these three Months 25000 *l.* Sterling in ready Money, all the Charges of the Voyage to *New-England* also being reckon'd up.

Now was my Time to have sat still contented with what

I had got, if it was in the Power of Man to know when his good Fortune was at the highest, and more, my prudent Wife gave it as her Opinion, that I should sit down satisfy'd, and push the Affair no farther, and earnestly perswaded me to do so; but I that had a Door open, as I thought, to immense Treasure, that had found the Way to have a Stream of the Golden Rivers of *Mexico* flow into my Plantation of *Virginia*, and saw no Hazards, more then what was common to all such Things in the Prosecution; I say to me, these Things look'd with another Face, and I dream'd of nothing but Millions, and Hundred of Thousands; so contrary to all moderate Measures, I push'd on for another Voyage, and laid up a Stock of all sorts of Goods that I could get together, proper for the Trade: I did not indeed go again to *New-England*, for I had by this Time a very good Cargo come from *England*, pursuant to a Commission I had sent several Months before; so that in short, my Cargo, according to the Invoice now made up, amounted to above 10000 *l.* Sterling first Cost, and was a Cargo so sorted, and so well bought, that I expected to have advanc'd upon them much more in proportion than I had done in the Cargo before.

WITH these Expectations, we began our second Voyage in *April*, being about five Months after our Return from the first; we had not indeed the same good Speed, even in our Beginning, as we had at first, for tho' we stood off to Sea about 60 Leagues, in order to be out of the Way of the Pyrates, yet we had not been above five Days at Sea, but we were visited and rifled by two Pirate Barks, who being bound to the *Northward*, that is to say, the Banks of *Newfoundland*, took away all our Provisions, and all our Ammunition, and small Arms, and left us ve-

ry ill provided to pursue our Voyage; and it being so near Home, we thought it adviseable to come about, and stand in for the *Capes* again, to restore our Condition, and furnish ourselves with Stores of all kinds for our Voyage; this took us up about ten Days, and we put to Sea again; as for our Cargo, the Pyrates did not meddle with it, being all Bale Goods, which they had no present Use for, and knew not what to do with, if they had them.

WE met with no other Adventure worth naming, till by the same Course that we had steer'd before, we came into the Gulph of *Mexico*, and the first Misfortune we met with here was, that on the Back of *Cuba*, crossing towards the Point of the *Terra Firma*, on the Coast of *Yucatan*, we had Sight of the *Flota* of *New-Spain*, that is, of the Ships which come from *Carthagena* or *Porto Bello*, and go to the *Havana*, in order to pursue their Voyage to *Europe*.

THEY had with them one *Spanish* Man of War, and three Frigats, two of the Frigats gave us chase, but it being just at the shutting in of the Day, we soon lost sight of them, and standing to the *North*, cross the Bay of *Mexico*, as if we were going to the Mouth of *Mississippi*, they lost us quite, and in a few Days more we made the bottom of the Bay, being the Port we were bound for.

WE stood in as usual, in the Night, and gave Notice to our Friends, but instead of their former Readiness to come on Board, they gave us Notice, that we had been seen in the Bay, and that Notice of us was given at *Vera Cruz*, and at other Places, and that several Frigats were in Quest of us, and that three more would be cruizing the next Morning in search for us.

WE could not conceive how this could be; but we were afterwards told, that those three Frigats, having lost Sight

of us in the Night, had made in for the Shore, and had given the Alarm of us as of Privateers.

BE that as it would, we had nothing to do, but to consider what Course to take immediately, the *Spanish* Merchants Advice was very good if we had taken it, namely, to have unladen as many of our Bails as we could that very Night, by the Help of our Boat and their Canoes, and to make the best of our Way in the Morning to the North of the Gulph, and take our Fate.

This my Skipper or Master, thought very well of, but when we began to put it in Execution, we were so confused, and in such a Hurry, being not resolv'd what Course to take, that we could not get out above sixteen Bales of all sorts of Goods, before it began to be too light, and we behov'd to set Sail; at last, the Master proposed a Medium, which was, that I should go on Shore in the next Boat, in which was five Bales of Goods more, and that I should stay on Shore, if the *Spanish* Merchants would undertake to conceal me, and let them go to Sea, and take their Chance.

THE *Spanish* Merchants readily undertook to protect me, especially it being so easy to have me pass for a natural *Spaniard*, and so they took me on Shore with 21 Bales of my Goods, and the Sloop stood off to Sea; if they met with any Enemies, they were to stand in for the Shore the next Night, and we fail'd not to look well out for them, but to no Purpose, for the next Day they were discovered and chased by two *Spanish* Frigats; they stood from them, and the Sloop being an excellent Sailor, gain'd so much, that they would certainly have been clear of them when Night came on, but a small Picaroon of a Sloop kept them Company in spite of all they could do, and two or three

Times offer'd to engage them, thereby to give Time to the rest to come up, but the Sloop kept her Way, and gave them a Chase of three Days and Nights, having a fresh Gale of Wind at S. W. till she made the *Rio Grand*, or as the *French* call it, the *Mississippi*, and there finding no Remedy, they run the Vessel on Shore, not far from the Fort, which the *Spaniards* call *Pensacola*, Garrison'd at that Time with *French*; our Men would have enter'd the River as a Port, but having no Pilot, and the Current of the River being strong against them, the Sloop run on Shore, and the Men shifted as well as they could in their Boats.

I WAS now in a very odd Condition indeed, my Circumstances were in one Sense indeed very happy, namely, that I was in the Hands of my Friends, for such really they were, and so faithful, that no Men could have been more careful of their own Safety, than were they of mine; and that which added to the Comfort of my new Condition, was the Produce of my Goods, which were gotten on Shore by their own Advice and Direction, which was a Fund sufficient to maintain me with them as long as I could be supposed to stay there; and, if not the first Merchant to whose House I went, assured me, that he would give me Credit for 20000 Pieces of Eight, if I had occasion for it.

My greatest Affliction was, that I knew not how to convey News to my Wife of my present Condition, and how among the many Misfortunes of the Voyage, I was yet safe, and in good Hands.

BUT there was no Remedy for this Part, but the great universal Cure of all incurable Sorrows, *viz.* Patience, and indeed I had a great deal of Reason, not for Patience

only, but Thankfulness, if I had known the Circumstances which I should have been reduc'd to, if I had fallen into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; the best of which that I could reasonably have expected, had been, to have sent to the Mines, or which was ten Thousand Times worse, the *Inquisition*; or if I had escaped the *Spaniards*, as my Men in the Sloop did, the Hardships they were exposed to, the Dangers they were in, and the Miseries they suffer'd, were still worse, in wandering among Savages, and the more Savage *French*, who plunder'd and strip'd them, instead of relieving and supplying them in their long Wilderness Journey over the Mountains, till they reach'd the S. W. Parts of *South Carolina*, a Journey which indeed deserves to have an Account to be given of it by itself; I say, all these Things had I known of them, would have let me see that I had a great deal of Reason, not only to be Patient under my present Circumstances, but satisfied, and thankful.

HERE, as I said, my Patron the Merchant, entertain'd me like a Prince, he made my Safety his peculiar Care, and while we were in any Expectation of the Sloop being taken, and brought into *Vera Cruz*, he kept me retir'd at a little House in a Wood, where he kept a fine *Avery* of all sorts of *American* Birds, and out of which he yearly sent some as Presents to his Friends in *Old Spain*.

THIS Retreat was necessary, least if the Sloop should be taken and brought into *Vera Cruz*, and the Men be brought in Prisoners, they should be tempted to give an Account of me as their Super-Cargo or Merchant, and where both I and the 21 Bales of Goods were set on Shore; as for the Goods, he made sure Work with them, for they were all open'd, taken out of the Bales, and separated, and

being mix'd with other *European* Goods which came by the Galeons, were made up in new Package, and sent to *Mexico* in several Parcels, some to one Merchant, some to another; so that it was impossible to have found them out, even if they had had Information of them.

IN this Posture, and in Apprehension of some bad News of the Sloop, I remain'd at the *Villa*, or House in the Vale, for so they call'd it, about five Weeks; I had two *Negroes* appointed to wait on me, one of which was my Purveyor, or my Cook, the other my Valet; and my Friend, the Master of all, came constantly every Evening to visit, and sup with me, when we walked out together into the *Avery*, which was of its kind, the most beautiful Thing that ever I saw in the World.

AFTER above five Weeks Retreat of this kind, he had good Intelligence of the Fate of the Sloop, *viz.* that the two Frigats and a Sloop had chased her till she ran on Ground near the Fort of *Pensacola*, that they saw her strand'd and broke in Pieces by the Force of the Waves, the Men making their Escape in their Boat. This News was brought it seems, by the said Frigats to *La Vera Cruz*, where my Friend went on Purpose to be fully inform'd, and receiv'd the Account from one of the Captains of the Frigats, and discoursed with him at large about it.

I was better pleased with the Loss of the Sloop and all my Cargo, the Men being got on Shore and escaping, than I should have been with the saving the whole Cargo, if the Men had fallen into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for now I was safe, whereas then it being supposed they would have been forced to some Discovery about me, I must have fled, and should have found it very difficult to

have made their Escape, even with all that my Friends could have done for me too.

BUT now I was perfectly easy, and my Friend, who thought confining me at the House in the Vale, no longer needful, brought me publickly Home to his Dwelling-House, as a Merchant come from *Old-Spain*, by the last Galeons, and who having been at *Mexico*, was come to reside with him.

HERE I was dressed like a *Spaniard* of the better Sort, had three *Negroes* to attend me, and was call'd *Don Ferdinand de Villa Moresa*, in *Castilia Feja*, that is to say, in *Old-Castile*.

HERE I had nothing to do but to walk about, and ride out into the Woods, and come Home again to enjoy the pleasantest, and most agreeable Retirement in the World; for certainly no Men in the World live in such Splendor, and wallow in such immense Treasures as the Merchants of this Place.

THEY live, as I have said, in a kind of Country Retreat at their *Villa's*, or as we would call them in *Virginia*, their Plantations, and as they do call them, their *Ingenios*, where they make their Indigo, and their Sugars; but they have also Houses, and Ware-houses, at *Vera Cruz*, where they go twice a Year, when the Galeons arrive from *Old-Spain*, and when those Galeons re-lade for their Return; and it was surprizing to me, when I went to *La Vera Cruz* with them, to see what prodigious Consignments they had from their Correspondents in *Old-Spain*, and with what Dispatch they manag'd them; for no sooner were the Cases, Packs, and Bales of *European* Goods brought into their Ware-houses, but they were open'd, and re-pack'd by Porters and Packers of their own, that is to say, *Ne-*

groes and *Indian* Servants; and being made up into new Bales, and separate Parcels, were all dispatch'd again, by Horses for *Mexico*, and directed to their several Merchants there, and the Remainder carry'd Home, as above, to the *Ingenio*, where they liv'd, which was near 30 *English* Miles from *Vera Cruz*, so that in about 20 Days, their Ware-houses were again entirely free: At *La Vera Cruz*, all their Business was over there, and they, and all their Servants retir'd; for they stay'd no longer there than needs must, because the unhealthiness of the Air.

AFTER the Goods were thus dispatched, it was equally surprizing, to see how soon, and with what Exactness, the Merchants of *Mexico*, to whom those Cargoes were separately consign'd, made the Return, and how it came all in Silver or in Gold, so that their Warehouses in a few Months, were piled up even to the Ceiling, with Chests of Pieces of Eight, and with Bars of Silver.

It is impossible to describe in the narrow Compass of this Work, with what Exactness and Order, and yet with how little Hurry, and not the least Confusion, every Thing was done, and how soon a Weight of Business of such Importance and Value, was negotiated and finish'd, the Goods re-pack'd, Invoyses made, and every Thing dispatch'd and gone; so that in about five Weeks, all the Goods they had receiv'd from *Europe* by the Galeons were disposed of, and entered in their Journals, to the proper Account of their Merchant, to whom they were respectively consign'd; from thence they had Book-keepers, who drew out the Invoyses, and wrote the Letters, which the Merchant himself only read over, and sign'd, and then other Hands copied all again into other Books.

I CAN give no Estimate of the Value of the several Con-

signments they receiv'd by that *Flota*; but I remember, that when the Galeons went back, they shipp'd on Board at several Times, one Million, three Hundred Thousand Pieces of Eight in Specie, besides 180 Bales or Bags of *Cochoneal*, and about 300 Bales of *Indigo*, but they were so modest, that they said, this was for themselves and their Friends; that is to say, the several Merchants of *Mexico*, consign'd large Quantities of Bullion to them, to ship on Board, and consign according to their Order; but then I know also, that for all that, they were allow'd Commission, so that their Gain was very considerable, even that Way also.

I HAD been with them at *La Vera Cruz*, and came back again before we came to an Account for the Goods which I had brought on Shore in the 21 Bales, which by the Account we brought them to, leaving a Piece of every Thing to be govern'd by our last Market, amounted to 8570 Pieces of Eight, all which Money my Friend, for so I must now call him, brought me in Specie, and caused his *Negroes* to pile them up in one Corner of my Apartment; so that I was indeed, still very rich, all Things consider'd.

THERE was a Bale which I had caused to be pack'd up on purpose in *Virginia*, and which indeed, I had written for from *England*, being chiefly of fine *English* Broad-Cloths, Silk, Silk-Druggets, and fine Stuffs of several kinds, with some very fine Hollands, which I set apart for Presents, as I should find Occasion; and as what ever Hurry I was in at carrying the 21 Bales of Goods on Shore, I did not forget to let this Bale be one of them, so when we came to a Sale for the rest, I told them that this was a Pack with Cloaths and Necessaries for my own wearing and Use, and so desired it might not be open'd

with the rest, which was accordingly observ'd, and that Bale or Pack was brought into my Apartment.

THIS Bale was in general, made up of several smaller Bales, which I had directed so that I might have Room to make Presents, equally sorted as the Circumstance might direct me: However, they were all considerable, and I reckon'd the whole Bale cost me near 200 *l. Sterling* in *England*; and tho' my present Circumstances requir'd some Limits to my Bounty in making Presents, yet the Obligation I was under, being so much the greater, especially to this one friendly generous *Spaniard*, I thought I could not do better than by opening two of the smaller Bales join them together, and make my Gift something suitable to the Benefactor, and to the Respect he had shewn me; accordingly I took two Bales, and laying the Goods together, the Contents were as follows.

Two Pieces of fine *English* Broad-Cloth, the finest that could be got in *London*, divided as was that which I gave to the Governor at the *Havana*, into fine Crimson in Grain, fine light Mixtures, and fine Black.
Four Pieces of fine Holland, of 7 *s.* to 8 *s. per Ell* in *London*.

Twelve Pieces of fine Silk Drugget and Duroys, for Men's Ware.

Six Pieces of Broad Silks, 2 Damasks, 2 Brocaded Silks and 2 Mantuas.

With a Box of Ribbons, and a Box of Lace, the last cost about 40 *l. Sterling* in *England*.

THIS handsome Parcel I laid open in my Apartment, and brought him up Stairs one Morning, on Pretence to

drink Chocolate with me, which he ordinarily did; when as we drank Chocolate, and was merry, I said to him, tho' I had sold him almost all my Cargo, and taken his Money, yet the Truth was, that I ought not to have sold them to him, but to have laid them all at his Feet, for that it was to his Direction I ow'd the having any Thing sav'd at all.

HE smil'd, and with a great deal of Friendship in his Face told me, that not to have paid me for them, would have been to have plunder'd a Shipwreck, which had been worse than to have robb'd an Hospital.

At last I told him, I had two Requests to make to him, which must not be deny'd. I told him, I had a small Present to make to him, which I would give him a Reason why he should not refuse to accept: And the second Request I would make after the first was granted. He said he would have accepted my Present from me, if I had not been under a Disaster, but as it was, it would be cruel and ungenerous. But, I told him, he was oblig'd to hear my Reason for his accepting it: Then I told him, that this Parcel was made up for him by Name, by my Wife and I in *Virginia*, and his Name set on the Marks of the Bale, and accordingly I shew'd him the Marks, which was indeed on one of the Bales, but I had doubled it now, (as above) so that I told him these were his own proper Goods; and in short, I press'd him so to receive them, that he made a Bow, and I said no more, but order'd my *Negro*, that is to say, his *Negro* that waited on me, to carry them all, except the two Boxes, into his Apartments, but would not let him see the Particulars, till they were all carry'd away.

AFTER he was gone, about a Quarter of an Hour, he came in raving, and almost swearing, and in a great Pas-

sion, but I could easily see he was exceedingly pleased; and told me, had he known the Particulars, he would never have suffer'd them to have gone as he did, and at last used the very same Compliment that the Governor at the *Havana* used, viz. that it was a Present fit for a Viceroy of *Mexico*, rather than for him.

WHEN he had done, he then told me, he remember'd I had two Requests to him, and that one was not to be told till after the first was granted, and he hoped now I had something to ask of him, that was equal to the Obligation I had laid upon him.

I TOLD him, I knew it was not the Custom in *Spain*, for a Stranger to make Presents to the Ladies, and that I would not in the least doubt, but that whatever the Ladies of his Family requir'd, as proper for their Use, he would appropriate to them as he thought fit. But that there was two little Boxes in the Parcel, which my Wife with her own Hand had directed to the Ladies; and I begg'd he would be pleas'd with his own Hand to give them in my Wife's Name as directed; that I was only the Messenger, but that I could not be honest, if I did not discharge the Trust repos'd my self of.

THESE were the two Boxes of Ribbands and Lace, which knowing the Nicety of the Ladies in *Spain*, or rather of the *Spaniards*, about their Women, I had made my Wife pack up, and direct with her own Hand, as I have said.

HE smil'd, and told me it was true, the *Spaniards* did not ordinarily admit so much Freedom among the Women, as other Nations; but he hop'd (he said) I would not think the *Spaniards* thought all their Women Whores, or that all *Spaniards* were jealous of their Wives: That as to

my Present, since he had agreed to accept of it, I should have the Direction of what Part I pleas'd to his Wife and Daughters; for he had three Daughters.

HERE I strain'd Courtisies again, and told him by no Means, I would direct nothing of that kind, I only begg'd that he would with his own Hand present to his *Donna*, or Lady, the Present design'd them by my Wife, and that he would present it in her Name now living in *Virginia*. He was extreamly pleas'd with the Nicety I us'd, and I saw him present it to her accordingly, and could see at the opening of it, that she was extreamly pleas'd with the Present itself, as indeed she might very well be; for in that Country it was worth a very considerable Sum of Money.

THO' I was us'd with an uncommon Friendship before, and nothing could well be desir'd more, yet the grateful Sense I shew'd of it, in the Magnificence of this Present, was not lost, and the whole Family appear'd sensible of it; so that I must allow that Presents, where they can be made in such a Manner, are not without their Influence, where the Persons were not at all mercenary, either before or after.

I HAD here now a most happy and comfortable Retreat, tho' it was a kind of an Exile; here I enjoy'd every Thing I could think of, that was agreeable and pleasant, except only a Liberty of going Home, which, for that Reason, perhaps, was the only Thing I desir'd in the World; for the Grievance of one absent Comfort is oftentimes capable of imbittering all the other Enjoyments in the World.

HERE I enjoy'd the Moments which I had never before known how to employ, I mean, that here I learn'd to look back upon a long ill-spent Life, bless'd with infinite Ad-

vantage, which I had no Heart given me till now to make use of, and here I found just Reflections were the utmost Felicity of human Life.

HERE I wrote these Memoirs, having to add, to the Pleasure of looking back with due Reflections, the Benefit of a violent Fit of the Gout, which, as it is allow'd by by most People, clears the Head, restores the Memory, and qualifies us to make the most, and just, and useful Remarks upon our own Actions.

PERHAPS, when I wrote these Things down, I did not foresee that the Writings of our own Stories would be so much the Fashion in *England*, or so agreeable to others to read, as I find Custom, and the Humour of the Times has caus'd it to be; if any one that reads my Story, pleases to make the same just Reflections, which I acknowledge I ought to have made, he will reap the Benefit of my Misfortunes, perhaps, more than I have done myself; 'tis evident by the long Series of Changes, and Turns, which have appear'd in the narrow Compass of one private mean Person's Life, that the History of Men's Lives may be many Ways made useful and instructing to those who read them, if moral and religious Improvement, and Reflections are made by those that write them.

THERE remains many Things in the Course of this unhappy Life of mine, tho' I have left so little a Part of it to speak of, that are worth giving a large and distinct Account of, and which give Room for just Reflections of a Kind which I have not made yet; particularly, I think it just to add how, in collecting the various Changes and Turns of my Affairs, I saw clearer than ever I had done before, how an invincible over-ruling Power, a Hand influenced from above, governs all our Actions of every

Kind, limits all our Designs, and orders the Events of every Thing relating to us.

AND from this Observation it necessarily occur'd to me, how just it was, that we should pay the Homage of all Events to him; that as he guided, and had even made the Chain of Causes, and Consequences, which Nature in general strictly obey'd, so to him should be given the Honour of all Events, the Consequences of those Causes, as the first Mover, and Maker of all Things.

I WHO had hitherto liv'd, as might be truly said, without God in the World, began now to see farther into all those Things, than I had ever yet been capable of before, and this brought me at last to look with Shame and Blushes upon such a Course of Wickedness, as I had gone through in the World: I had been bred indeed to nothing of either religious, or moral Knowledge; what I gain'd of either, was first by the little Time of civil Life which I liv'd in *Scotland*, where my Abhorrence of the Wickedness of my Captain and Comrade, and some sober religious Company I fell into, first gave me some Knowledge of Good and Evil, and shew'd me the Beauty of a sober, religious Life, tho' with my leaving that Country, it soon left me too; or secondly, the modest Hints, and just Reflections of my Steward, who I call'd my Tutor, who was a Man of sincere Religion, good Principles, and a real true Penitent for his past Miscarriages: O! had I with him sincerely repented of what was past, I had not for 24 Years together liv'd a Life of Levity, and profligate Wickedness after it.

BUT here I had (as I said) Leisure to reflect, and to repent, and to call to Mind Things past, and with a just Detestation learn, as *Jobs* says, *to abhorm myself in Dust and Ashes.*

It is with this Temper that I have written my Story, I would have all (that design to read it) prepare to do so with the Temper of Penitents; and remember, with how much Advantage they may make their penitent Reflections at Home, under the merciful Dispositions of Providence in Peace, Plenty, and Ease, rather than Abroad, under the Discipline of a Transported Criminal; as my Wife and my Tutor, or under the Miseries and Distresses of a Shipwreck'd Wanderer, as my Skipper, or Captain of the Sloop, who (as I hear) died a very great Penitent, labouring in the Deserts and Mountains to find his Way Home to *Virginia*, by the Way of *Carolina*, whither the rest of the Crew reached, after infinite Dangers and Hardships; or in Exile, however favourably circumstanced as mine, in absence from my Family, and for some Time in no probable View of ever seeing them any more.

SUCH (I say) may Repent with Advantage; but how few are they that seriously look in, till their Way is hedg'd up, and they have no other Way to look?

HERE (I say) I had Leisure to Repent, how far it pleases God to give the Grace of Repentance where he gives the Opportunity of it, is not for me to say of my self; it is sufficient that I recommend it to all that read this Story, that when they find their Lives come up in any Degree to any Similitude of Cases, they will enquire by me, and ask themselves, Is not this the Time to Repent? Perhaps the Answer may touch them.

I HAVE only to add to what was then written, that my kind Friend the *Spaniards* finding no other Method presented for conveying me to my Hope, that is to say, to *Virginia*, got a Licence for me to come in the next Galeons, as a *Spanish Merchant* to *Cadiz*, where I arriv'd safe with

all my Treasure, for he suffer'd me to be at no Expences in his House; and from *Cadiz*, I soon got my Passage on Board an *English* Merchant Ship for *London*, from whence I sent an Account of my Adventures to my Wife, and where, in about five Months more, she came over to me, leaving with full Satisfaction the Management of all our Affairs in *Virginia*, in the same faithful Hands as before.

FINIS.

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An Account of the Conduct
and Proceedings of the late
JOHN GOW
alias Smith

Captain of the late Pirates, executed for Murther and
Piracy, committed on Board the **GEORGE GALLY**, after-
wards call'd the **REVENGE**; with a Relation of all
the horrid Murthers they committed in
cold Blood; as also of their being
taken at the Islands of *Orkney*,
and sent up Prisoners
to *London*.

THE ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN JOHN GOW,
one of the most characteristic of Defoe's minor writings, was first published as an octavo pamphlet (pp. viii. and 62) by J. Applebee, in Black Fryers, on June 11th, 1725. The text, as here printed, has been carefully collated with the first edition in the British Museum, and with the exception of a few obvious printer's errors, which have been corrected, the spelling and punctuation of the original have been rigidly followed.

INTRODUCTION

TH^{O'} *this Work seems principally to enter into the History of one Man, namely, The late Captain John Gow, alias Smith, the Leader or Commander in the desperate and bloody Actions for which he has been Condemn'd; yet the Share which several others had in the whole Scene, and who acted in Concert with him, comes so necessarily to be Describ'd and takes up so Much room in the Relation, that it may indeed be call'd the History of all the late Pirates so far as they acted together in these wicked Adventures.*

NOR does the calling him (I mean this Gow, or Smith) *their Captain, denominate him any thing deeper in the Crime than the rest; for 'tis eminently known that among such Fellows as these, when once they have abandon'd themselves to such a dreadful height of Wickedness, there is so little Government or Subordination among them, that they are, on occasion, all Captains, all Leaders. And tho' they generally put in this or that Man to act as Commander for this or that Voyage or Enterprise, they frequently remove them again upon the smallest Occasion, nay, even without any Occasion at all, but as Humours and Passions govern at those Times: And this is done so often, that I once knew a Buccaneering Pirate Vessel, whose Crew were upwards of 70 Men, who, in one Voyage, had so often changed, set up, and pull'd down their Captains and other Officers, that above Seven-and-Forty of the Ships Company had, at several Times, been in Office of one kind or other; and among the rest they had, in particular, had 13 Captains.*

NOW, however, *it was not so here; yet it seems, even in this Ship, Gow himself, tho' call'd Captain, had not an absolute Command; and was, at one time, so insulted by Lieutenant Williams, because he declin'd Attacking a French ship from Martinico, that it wanted but little of Deposing him at that Time, and murthering him too.*

I N this Account, therefore, we shall have some Relation of the Conduct of the whole Ships Crew, as well as of Captain Gow; nor will it, I hope, make the Work the less Agreeable to the Reader, but the more so, by how much the greater Variety of Incidents will come in my way to speak of.

A S to Gow himself, he was, indeed, a Superlative, a Capital Rogue; and had been so even before he came to Embark in this particular Ship. And he is more than ordinarily Remarkable for having form'd the like Design of going a-Pirating when he serv'd as Boatswain on Board an English Merchant Ship, Bound Home from Lisbon to London, in which he form'd a Party to have seiz'd on the Captain and Officers and to run away with the Ship: When, no doubt, had he accomplish'd his Work, the said Captain and Officers had run the same Fate as those did we are now to mention.

T H I S I am so ascertain'd of the Truth of, that the Captain himself is ready to Attest it, to whom it was afterwards discover'd, that he, Gow, had made four of the Seamen acquainted with his bloody Design, and had gain'd them over to it; But not being able to draw in any more, and not being Strong enough with these who he had so Debauch'd, they did not make their Attempt.

T H I S, it seems, was not discover'd to the Captain till after the Ship was discharg'd in the Port of London, and the Men paid off and dismiss'd; when Information being given, the said Captain endeavour'd to have apprehended Gow and his Accomplices; but having, (as 'twas supposed) gotten some Notice of the Design, made off and shifted for themselves as well as they could, in which it was his Lot to go over to Holland.

H E R E it was, viz., at Amsterdam, that Gow ship'd himself afore the Mast, (as the seamen called it) that is to say, as a Common Sailor, on Board an English Ship of 200 Tons Burden, called the George Galley. He ship'd himself at first,

as I have said, *afore the Mast*; but afterwards, which added to the great Misfortune, appearing to be an active skilful Sailor, he obtain'd the Favour of being made Second Mate; the Ship was Commanded by one Oliver Ferneau, a Frenchman, but a Subject of Great Britain, being of the Island of Guernsey, to which also did the Ship belong, but was then in the service of the Merchants of Amsterdam.

CAPTAIN Ferneau, being a Man of Reputation among the Merchants at Amsterdam, got a Voyage for his Ship from thence to Santa Cruz, on the coast of Barbary, to Load Bees Wax, and to carry it to Genoa, which was his delivering Port; and as the Dutch, having war with the Turks of Algiers, were willing to employ him as an English Ship, so he was as willing to be Mann'd with English Seamen; and accordingly, among the rest, he unhappily took on Board this Gow with his wretched Gang, such as Macaulay, Melvin, Williams, and others; but not being able to Man themselves wholly with English or Scots, they were oblig'd to take some Swedes and other Seamen to make up his Compliment, which was 23 in all; among the latter Sort one was nam'd Winter, and another Peterson, both of them Swedes by Nation, but as wicked, too, as Gow and his other Fellows were.

THEY Sail'd from the Texel in the month of August 1724, and arrived at Santa Cruz on the 2nd of September following, where, having a Supercargo on Board who took Charge of the Loading and four Chests of Money to Purchase it, they soon got the Bees Wax on Board, and on the 3rd of November they appointed to set Sail to pursue the Voyage.

THUS much seems, however, proper to signify to the World, before they enter into the rest of Gow's Story, because 'tis evident from hence, that the late barbarous and inhuman Action was not the Effect of a sudden Fury rais'd in the Minds of the whole Company by the ill Usage they had receiv'd from

Captain Ferneau in the Matter of their Provisions, or from their having overheard the said Ferneau threaten them when he spoke to the Mate, upon the Quarter Deck to get small Arms into the great Cabbin, which they might suppose was in order to seize on them, and bring them to Correction, and so, in their Heat of Blood, might run them up to such a height of Rage as to commit the Murthers which they did not intend before.

BUT 'tis evident that this Gow in particular, whatever the rest might have done, had entertain'd this bloody Resolution in General (I mean of turning Pirate) long before this Voyage; he had endeavour'd to put it in practice, at least once before, namely, in the Ship (mentioned above) Bound from Lisbon for London, and had only fail'd for want of being able to bring over a sufficient Gang of Rogues to his Party; whether he had not had the same Design in his Head long before, that we do not know; but it seems he had not been able to bring it to pass till now, when finding some little Discontent among the Men, on account of their Provisions, he was made the Devil's Instrument to run up those Discontents to such a dreadful height of Fury and Rage as we shall find they did.

AND this justly entitles Gow to the Charge of being the Principal, as well Author as Agent, in the Tragedy that follow'd. Nor does it at all take off the Charge that Winter and Peterson began the mutinous Language towards the Captain.

THE Design must certainly have been laid among them before; how else should so many of them so easily form such a wicked Scheme in the few Minutes they had to talk together? Gow therefore is, I say, justly charg'd as Author of all the wicked Conclusions among them, and as having form'd a Resolution, in his own Mind to turn Pirate the first Time he had an Opportunity, whatever Ship or whatever Voyage he went upon.

The ADVENTURES *of* CAPTAIN JOHN GOW

THE following Account being chiefly confin'd to the Conduct of this outrageous Pirate, Captain *Gow*, after his having actually turn'd Pirate, in this particular Ship, the *George Galley*, we must content ourselves with beginning where he began, that is to say, when they seiz'd the Captain, murdered him and his Men, and ran away with the Ship, on the coast of *Barbary*, in the *Mediterranean Sea*.

IT was the 3rd of *November*, Anno 1724, when, as has been observ'd, the Ship having lain two Months in the Road at *Santa Cruz*, taking in her Lading, the Captain made Preparations to put to Sea; and the usual Signals for Sailing having been given, some of the Merchants from on Shore, who had been concern'd in furnishing the Cargo, came on Board in the Forenoon to take their Leave of the Captain, and wish him a good Voyage, as is usual on such Occasions.

WHETHER it was concerted by the whole Gang beforehand we know not; but while the Captain was treating and entertaining the Merchants under the Awning upon the Quarter-Deck, as is the Custom in those hot Countries, three of the Seamen, *viz. Winter and Peterson*, two *Swedes*, and *Macauley a Scotchman*, came rudely upon the Quarter-Deck, and as if they took that Opportunity because the Merchants were present, believing the Captain would not use any Violence with them, in the presence of

the Merchants, they made a long Complaint of their ill Usage, and particularly of their Provisions and Allowance (as they said) being not sufficient, nor such as was ordinarily made in other Merchant Ships; seeming to load the Captain, Monsieur *Ferneau*, with being the Occasion of it, and that he did it for his private Gain; which however had not been true if the Fact had been true, the Overplus of Provisions (if the Stores had been more than sufficient) belonging to the Owners, not to the Captain, at the end of the Voyage; there being also a Steward on Board to take the Account.

IN their making this Complaint, they seem'd to direct their speech to the Merchants, as well as to the Captain, as if they had been concern'd in the Ship (which they were not) or, as if desiring them to intercede for them with the Captain, that they might have Redress, and might have a better Allowance.

THE Captain was highly provok'd at this Rudeness, as, indeed, he had reason; it being a double Affront to him, as it was done in the view of the Merchants who were come on Board to him, and to do him an Honour at Parting; however, he restrain'd his Passion, and gave them not the least angry Word, only, that if they were aggriev'd, they had no more to do, but to have let him know it, that if they were ill used, it was not by his Order, that he would enquire into it, and that if anything was amiss, it should be rectify'd; with which the Seamen withdrew, seeming well satisfied with his Answer.

ABOUT five the same Evening they unmoor'd the Ship, and hove short upon their best bower Anchor, expecting the Land Breeze, as is usual on that Coast, to carry them out to Sea; but, instead of that, it fell stark Calm, and the

Captain fearing the Ship should fall foul of her own Anchor, ordered the Mizzen-top Sail to be furl'd.

PETERSON, one of the malcontent Seamen, being the nearest Man at hand, seem'd to go about it, but mov'd so carelessly, and heavily, that it appear'd plainly he did not care whether it was done or no; and particularly as if he had a mind the Captain should see it, and take Notice of it; and the Captain did so, for perceiving how awkwardly he went about it, he spoke a little tartly to him, and asked him what was the reason he did not stir a little and furl the Sail.

PETERSON, as if he waited for the Question, answered in a surly Tone, and with a kind of Disdain, "*So as we eat so shall we work:*" This he spoke aloud, so as that he might be sure the Captain should hear him, and the rest of the Men also; and 'twas evident, that as he spoke in the plural Number *We*, so he spoke their Minds as well as his Own, and Words which they had all agreed to before.

THE Captain, however, tho' he heard plain enough what he said, took not the least Notice of it, or gave him the least room to believe he had heard him, being not willing to begin a Quarrel with the Men, and knowing that if he took any Notice at all of it, he must resent it and punish it too.

Soon after this the Calm went off, and the Land-Breeze sprung up, as is usual on that Coast, and they immediately weigh'd and stood off to Sea; but the Captain having had those two Ruffles with his Men, just at their putting to Sea, was very uneasy in his Mind, as, indeed, he had reason to be; and the same Evening, soon after they were under Sail, the Mate being walking on the Quarter Deck, he went, and taking two or three Turns with him, told him

how he had been us'd by the Men, particularly how they affronted him before the Merchants, and whatan Answer *Peterson* had given him on the Quarter-Deck when he ordered him to furl the Mizen-top Sail.

THE mate was surpriz'd at the Thing as well as the Captain, and after some other Discourse about it, *in which 'twas their Unhappiness not to be so private as they ought to have been in a Case of such Importance*, the Captain told him he thought it was absolutely necessary to have a Quantity of small Arms brought immediately into the great Cabin, not only to defend themselves if there should be occasion, but also that he might be in a Posture to correct those Fellows for their Insolence, especially if he should meet with any more of it: The Mate agreed that it was necessary to be done, and had they said no more, and said this more privately all had been well, and the wicked Design had been much more difficult, if not the execution of it effectually prevented.

BUT two Mistakes in this Part was the ruin of them all: (1) That the Captain spoke it without due Caution, so that *Winter* and *Peterson*, the two principal Malcontents, and who were expressly mentioned by the Captain to be corrected, overheard it, and knew by that Means what they had to expect, if they did not immediately bestir themselves to prevent it. (2) The other Mistake was that when the Captain and Mate agreed that it was necessary to have the Arms got ready and brought into the great Cabin, the Captain unhappily bade him go immediately to *Gow*, the second Mate and Gunner, and give him Orders to get the Arms cleared and loaded for him, and so to bring them up to the great Cabin, which was, in short, to tell the Conspirators that the Captain was preparing to

be too strong for them if they did not fall to work with him immediately.

Winter and *Peterson* went immediately Forward, where they knew the rest of the Mutineers were, and to whom they communicated what they had heard; telling them that it was time to provide for their own Safety, for otherwise their Destruction was resolv'd on, and the Captain, would soon be in such a Posture that there would be no meddling with him.

WHILE they were thus consulting at first, as they said, only for their own Safety, *Gow* and *Williams* came in to them, with some others, to the Number of eight; and no sooner were they joined by these two, but they fell downright to the Point, which *Gow* had so long form'd in his own Mind, (*viz.*) to seize upon the Captain and Mate, and all those that they could not bring to joyn with them; in short, to throw them into the Sea, and to go upon the Account.

ALL those who are acquainted with the Sea Language know the Meaning of that Expression, and that it is, in few Words, to *run away with the Ship and turn Pirates*.

VILLAINOUS Designs are soonest concluded; as they had but little Time to consult upon what Measures they should take, so a very little Consultation serv'd for what was before them, and they came to this short but hellish Resolution, (*viz.*) That they would immediately, that very Night, murder the Captain, and such others as they nam'd, and afterwards proceed with the Ship as they should see Cause.

AND here it is to be observ'd, that tho' *Winter* and *Peterson* were in the first Proposal, namely, to prevent their being brought to Correction by the Captain, yet *Gow* and

Williams were the principal Advisers in the bloody Part, which, however, the rest soon came into; for, as I said before, as they had but little Time to resolve it: so they had but very little Debate about it; but what was first propos'd was forthwith engag'd in and consented to.

BESIDES, it must not be omitted that, as I have said, upon good Grounds, that *Gow* had always had the wicked Game of Pirating in his Head, and that he had attempted it, or rather try'd to attempt it, before, but was not able to bring it to pass: So he had, and *Williams* also had several times, even in this very Voyage, dropt some hints of this vile Design, as they thought there was Room for it; and touch'd two or three Times at what a noble Opportunity they had of Enriching themselves, and making their Fortunes, as they wickedly call'd it: This was when they had the four Chests of Money on Board; and *Williams* made it a kind of a Jest in his Discourse how easily they might carry it off, Ship and all: But as they did not find themselves Seconded, or that any of the Men shewed themselves in favour of such a thing, but rather spoke of it with Abhorrence, they pass'd it over as a kind of Discourse that had nothing at all in it; except that one of the Men, (*viz.*) the Surgeon, took them up short once, for so much as mentioning such a Thing, told them the Thought was Criminal, and it ought not to be spoken of among them. Which Reproof, 'twas suppos'd, cost him his Life afterwards.

As *Gow* and his Comrade had thus started the Thing at a Distance before, though it was then without Success, yet they had the Less to do now, when other Discontents had rais'd a secret Fire in the Breasts of the Men; for now being, as it were, Mad and Desperate, with Apprehen-

sions of their being to be severely Punish'd by the Captain, they wanted no Perswasions to come into the most wicked Undertaking that the Devil, or any of his Agents could propose to them. Nor do we find, that upon any of their Examinations they pretended to have made any Scruples of, or Objections against the Cruelty of the bloody Attempt that was to be made, but came into it at once, and resolved to put it in Execution immediately, that is to say, the very same Evening.

It was the Captain's constant Custom to call all the Ship's Company every Night, at Eight a'Clock, into the Great Cabbin to prayers; and then the Watch being set, one Watch went upon Deck, and the other turn'd in (as the Seamen call it), that is, went to their Hammocks to Sleep; And here they concerted their devilish Plot. It was the Turn of five of the Conspirators to go to Sleep, and of these, *Gow* and *Williams*, were two; the three, who were to be upon the Deck, were *Winter*, *Rolson*, and *Melvin* a *Scotchman*.

THE Persons they had immediately design'd for Destruction, were four, (*viz.*) the Captain, the Mate, the Super Cargo, and the Surgeon, whereof all, but the Captain, were gone to Sleep; the Captain himself being upon the Quarter-Deck.

BETWEEN Nine and Ten at Night, all being quiet and secure, and the poor Gentlemen, that were to be murder'd fast asleep, the Villains that were below, gave the Watch-Word, which was, "*who Fires next?*" at which they all got out of their Hammocks with as little Noise as they could, and going, in the Dark, to the Hammocks of the Chief Mate, Super Cargo, and Surgeon, they cut all their Throats; the Surgeon's Throat was cut so effectual-

ly, that he could struggle very little with them, but leaping out of his Hammock, ran up to get upon the Deck, holding his Hand upon his Throat, but stumbled at the Tiller, and falling down, had no Breath, and consequently no Strength, to raise himself, but dy'd where he lay.

THE Mate, whose Throat was cut, but not his Windpipe, had struggled so Vigorously with the Villain, that attempted him that he got from him, and got into the Hold; and the Super Cargo, in the same Condition, got forwards between Decks, under some Deals, and both of them begg'd, with the most moving Cries and Intreaties, for their Lives; and when nothing could prevail, they beg'd with the same earnestness, but for a few Moments to Pray to God, and Recommend their Souls to His Mercy; but alike in Vain, for the wretched Murtherers, heated with Blood, were pass'd all Pitty; and not being able to come at them with their Knives, with which they had begun the Execution, they shot them with their Pistols, Firing several times upon each of them, till they found they were quite dead

As all this, before the Firings, could not be done without some Noise, the Captain, who was walking alone upon the Quarter-Deck, call'd out and ask'd, what was the Matter? The Boatswain, who sat on the *After Bits*, and was not of the Party, answer'd He could not tell; but was afraid there was some Body Over-board; upon which the Captain step'd toward the Ships Side to look over, when *Winter*, *Rowlinson*, and *Melvin*, coming that moment behind him, lay'd Hands on him, and lifting him up, at once attempted to throw him Overboard into the Sea; but he being a nimble, strong Man, got hold of the Shrouds, and struggled so hard with them, that they could not break

his Hold; but turning his Head, to look behind him, to see who he had to deal with, one of them cut his Throat with a broad *Dutch* Knife, but neither was that Wound Mortal: And the Captain still struggled with them, tho' seeing he should undoubtedly be Murthered, he constantly cry'd out to God for Mercy, for he found there was no Mercy to be expected from them: During this Struggle, another of the Murtherers stab'd him with a Knife in the Back, and that with such Force, that the Villain could not draw the Knife out again to repeat his Blow, which he would otherwise have done.

AT this Moment *Gow* came up from the Butchery he had been at between Decks, and seeing the Captain still alive, he went close up to him and shot him (as he confess'd) with a Brace of Bullets.

WHAT Part he shot him into, could not be known; tho' they said he shot him into the Head; however, he had yet Life enough, tho' they threw him Over-board, to take hold of a Rope, and would still have saved himself, but they cut that Rope, and he fell into the Sea, and was seen no more. Thus they finished the Tragedy, having murthered four of the principal Men of Command in the Ship, so that there was now no Body to Oppose them; for *Gow* being Second Mate and Gunner, the Command fell to him of Course, and the rest of the Men having no Arms ready, nor knowing how to get at any, were in the utmost Consternation, expecting they would go on with the Work and cut all their Throats.

IN this Fright every one shifted for himself; as for those who were upon Deck, some got into the Round Tops, others got into the Ship's Head, resolving to throw themselves into the Sea rather than to be mangled with

Knives, and murdered in Cold Blood, as the Captain and Mate, &c., had been; Those who were below, not knowing what to do, or whose Turn it should be next, lay still in their Hammocks, expecting Death every Moment; and not daring to stir, lest the Villains should think they did it in order to make Resistance, which however they were no way capable of doing, having no Concert one with another, nor knowing any Thing in Particular of one another, as who was Alive or who was Dead; whereas had the Captain, who was himself a bold and stout Man, been in his Great Cabbin with three or four Men with him, and his Fire-Arms, as he intended to have had, those eight Fellows had never been Able to have done their Work; but every Man was taken Unprovided, and in the utmost Surprise, so that the Murtherers met with no Resistance: And as for those that were left, they were less Able to make Resistance than the other; so that, as I have said, they were in the utmost Terror and Amazement, expecting every Minute to be Murthered as the rest had been.

BUT the Villains had done: The Persons who had any Command, were Dispatch'd, so they Cool'd a little as to Blood. The first Thing they did afterward, was to call up all the Eight upon the Quarter-Deck, where they Congratulated one another, and shook Hands together engaging to proceed, by unanimous Consent, in their resolved Design, that is to say, of turning Pirates; in Order to which, they with a *Nem. Con.*, chose *Gow* to Command the Ship, promising all Subjection and Obedience to his Orders (so that now we must call him Captain *Gow*) and he, by the same Consent of the rest, named *Williams* to be his Lieutenant. Other Officers they appointed afterwards.

THE first Order they issued, was to let all the rest of the Men know, that if they continued Quiet, and offer'd not to Meddle with any of their Affairs, they should receive no Hurt; but strictly forbid any Man among them to set a Foot Aboard the Main-mast, except they were call'd to the Helm, upon pain of being immediately cut in Pieces; keeping, for that Purpose, one Man at the Steerage-door, and one upon the Quarter-deck, with drawn Cutlasses in their Hands; but there was no need for it, for the Men were so terrified with the bloody Doings they had seen, that they never offer'd to come in sight till they were call'd.

THEIR next Work was to throw the three dead Bodies, of the Mate, the Surgeon, and the Super Cargo over Board, which, they said, lay in their Way, and that was soon done, their Pockets first search'd and rifled. From thence they went to work with the Great Cabbins and with all the Lockers, Chests, Boxes, and Trunks; These they Broke open and Rifled, that is, such of them as belong'd to the murdered Persons; and whatever they found there, they shar'd among themselves: When they had done this, they call'd for Liquor, and sat down to Drinking till Morning, leaving the Men (as above) to keep Guard, and particularly to guard the Arms, but Relieved them from Time to Time as they saw Occasion.

By this Time they had drawn in four more of the Men to approve of what they had done, and promise to Joyn with them, so that now they were twelve in Number, and being but 24 at first, whereof four were Murdered, they had but eight Men to be Apprehensive of, and those they could easily look after; so for the next Day they sent for them all to appear before their new Captain, where they were told by *Gow*, what his Resolution was, *viz.*, to go a

Cruising, or to go upon the Account (as above) that if they were willing to Joyn with them, and go into their Measures, they should be well used, and there should be no Distinction among them, but they should all fare alike; that they had been forced by the barbarous Usage of *Ferneau* to do what they had done, but that now there was no looking back; and therefore as they had not been concern'd in what was past, they had nothing to do but to act in Concert, do their Duty as Sailors, and obey Orders for the good of the Ship, and no Harm should he do to any of them.

As they all looked like condemn'd Prisoners brought up to the Bar to receive Sentence of Death, so they all answer'd by a profound Silence; not one Word being said by any of them, which *Gow* took, as they meant it, (*viz.*,) for a Consent, because they durst not refuse; so they were then permitted to go up and down every where as they used to do. Tho' such of them as sometimes afterwards showed any Reluctance to act as Principals, were never Trusted, always Suspected, and often severely Beaten, and some of them were many ways inhumanly Treated, and that particularly by *Williams*, the Lieutenant, who was, in his Nature a merciless, cruel, and inexorable Wretch, as we shall have occasion to take Notice of again in its Place.

THEY were now in a new Circumstance of Life, and acting upon a different Stage of Business, tho' upon the same Stage as to the Element, the Water; before, they were a Merchant Ship, loaden upon a good Account with Merchants Goods from the Coast of *Barbary*, and bound to the Coast of *Italy*: But they were now a Crew of Pirates, or, as they call them in the *Levant*, *Corsaires*, Bound no

where, but to look out for Purchase and Spoil wherever they could find it.

IN pursuit of this wicked Trade, they first chang'd the Name of the Ship, which was before called the *George Gally*, and which they call now the *Revenge*, a Name indeed suitable to the bloody Steps they had taken: In the next place, they made the best of the Ships Forces: The Ship had but twelve Guns mounted when they came out of *Holland*; but as they had six more good Guns in the Hold, with Carriages and every Thing proper for Service (which they had in Store, because being Freightd for the *Dutch* Merchants, and the *Algerines* being at War with the *Dutch*, they suppos'd they might want them for Defence); Now they took care to Mount them for a much worse Design; so that now they had 18 Guns, tho' too many for the number of Hands they had on Board.

In the third Place, instead of pursuing their Voyage to *Genoa* with the Ships Cargo, they took a clear contrary Course, and resolv'd to Station themselves upon the Coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and to Cruise upon all Nations; but what they chiefly aim'd at, was a Ship with Wine, if possible, for that they wanted Extreemly.

THE first Prize they took was an *English* Sloop belonging to *Pool*, *Thomas Wise*, Commander, bound from *Newfoundland* with Fish for *Cadiz*: This was a Prize of no Value to them, for they knew not what to do with the Fish; so they took out the Master, Mr. *Wise*, and his Men, who were but Five in Number, with their Anchors, and Cables, and Sails, and what else they found worth taking out, and sunk the Vessel.

N.B.—Here, it is to be observ'd, they found a Man very fit for their Turn, one James Belvin, he was Boatswain of the

Sloop, a stout, brisk Fellow, and a very good Sailor, but other-ways wicked enough to suit with their Occasion, and as soon as he came among them he discover'd it; for tho' he was not in the first bloody Contrivance, nor in the terrible Execution of which I have given a Relation, that is to say, he was not guilty of running away with the Ship George Gally, nor of murdering the four Innocent Men, which we have given an Account of above; yet 'tis Evident he joyn'd Heartily in all the Villainies which follow'd. And, indeed, this Man's Fate is a just and needful Caution to all those Sailors, who being taken in other Ships by the Pirates, think that is a sufficient Plea for them to act as real Pirates afterwards; and that the Plea or Pretence of being Forced, will be a sufficient Protection to them, however Guilty they may have been afterward, and however Volunteer they may have Acted when they came among the Pirates.

DOUBTLESS 'tis possible for a Man to prove a hearty Rogue after he is forced into the Service of the Pirates, however Honest he was before, and however Undesignedly or against his Consent he at first came among them: Therefore those who expect to be Acquitted in a Court of Justice afterward on Pretence of their being at first Forced into the Company of Rogues, must take care not to act anything in Concert with them while they are Embark'd together, but what they really cannot Avoid, and are apparently under a Constraint in the doing.

BUT this Man, 'twas plain, acted a quite different Part; for after he took on with them, he took all Occasions to engage their Confidence, and to convince them that he was Hearty in his Joyning them. In a Word, he was the most active and vigorous Fellow of any that were, as it may be said, forc'd into their Service; for many of the

others, tho' they acted with them, and were apparently Assisting, yet there was always a kind of Backwardness and Disguist at the Villainy, for which they were often maltreated, and always suspected by their Masters.

THE next Prize they took was a *Scotch* Vessel, bound from *Glassgow*, with Herrings and Salmon, from thence to *Genoa*, and commanded by one Mr *John Somerville*, of *Port Patrick*. This Vessel was likewise of little Value to them, except that they took out, as they had done from the other, their Arms, Ammunition, Cloths, Provisions, Sails, Anchors, Cables, &c., and every Thing of Value, and therefore they sunk her too, as they had done the Sloop. The Reason they gave for sinking these two Vessels was to prevent their being Discover'd; for as they were now Cruising on the Coast of *Portugal*, had they let the Ships have gone with several of their Men on Board, they would presently have stood in for the Shore, and have given the Alarm; and the Men of War, of which there were several, as well *Dutch* as *English*, in the River of *Lisbon*, would presently have put out to Sea in Quest of them; And they were very unwilling to leave the Coast of *Portugal* till they had got a Ship with Wine, which they very much wanted.

THEY Cruised eight or ten Days after this without seeing so much as one Vessel upon the Seas, and were just resolving to stand more to the Norward, to the Coast of *Gallitia*, when they descry'd a Sail to the *Southward*, being a Ship about as big as their own, tho' they could not perceive what Force she had; however, they gave Chase, and the Vessel perceiving it, crouded from them with all the Sail they could make, hoisting up *French* Colours, and standing away to the *Southward*.

THEY continued the Chase three Days and three Nights, and though they did not gain much upon her, the *Frenchman* Sailing very well, yet they kept her in sight all the while, and for the most part within Gun-shot. But the third Night, the Weather proving a little *Haizy*, the *Frenchman* chang'd his Course in the Night, and so got clear of them, and good Reason they had to bless themselves in the Escape they had made: If they had but known what a dreadful Crew of Rogues they had fallen among, if they had been taken.

THEY were now gotten a long Way to the *Southward*, and being greatly Disappointed, and in want of Water as well as Wine, they resolved to stand away for the *Maderas*, which they knew was not far off, so they accordingly made the Island in two Days more, and keeping a large Offing, they Cruiz'd for three or four Days more, expecting to meet with some *Portuguese* Vessel going in or coming out; but 'twas in Vain, for nothing stirr'd: So, tir'd with Expecting, they stood in for the Road, and came to an Anchor, tho' at a great Distance; then they sent their Boat towards the Shore with seven Men, all well arm'd, to see whether it might not be Practicable to Board one of the Ships in the Road, and cutting her away from her Anchors, bring her off; or if they found that could not be done, then their Orders were to Intercept some of the Boats belonging to the Place, which carry Wines off on Board the Ships in the Road, or from one Place to another on the Coast; but they came back again disappointed in both, every Body being allarm'd and aware of them, knowing by their Posture what they were.

HAVING thus spent several Days to no Purpose, and finding themselves Discover'd (at length being apparent-

ly under a Necessity to make an Attempt some where), they stood away for *Porto Santa*, about ten Leagues to the windward of *Maderas*, and belonging also to the *Portuguese*; here putting up *British* Colours, they sent their Boat ashore with Captain *Somervills* Bill of Health, and a present to the Governour of three Barrels of Salmon and six Barrels of Herrings, and a very civil Message, desiring leave to Water, and to buy some Refreshments, pretending to be Bound to ———.

THE Governour very courteously granted their Desire, but with more Courtesy than Discretion, went off himself, with about Nine or ten of his principal People, to pay the *English* Captain a Visit, little thinking what a kind of a Captain it was they were going to Compliment, and what Price it might have Cost them.

HOWEVER *Gow*, handsomely dress'd, receiv'd them with some Ceremony, and entertain'd them tollerably well for a while; but the Governour having been kept as long by Civility as they could, and the Refreshments from the Shore not appearing, he was forced to Unmask; and when the Governour and his Company rose up to take their leave, they were, to their great Surprise, suddenly surrounded with a gang of Fellows with Musquets and an Officer at the Head of them, who told them, in so many Words, they were the Captains Prisoners, and must not think of going on Shore any more till the Water and Provisions which were promis'd should come on Board.

It is impossible to conceive the Consternation and Surprise the *Portuguese* Gentry were in; nor is it very Decently to be express'd; the poor Governour was so much more than half Dead with the Fright that he really Befoul'd himself in a piteous Manner; and the rest were in no much

better Condition; they trembled, cry'd, begg'd, cross'd, themselves, and said their Prayers as Men going to Execution; but 'twas all one, they were told flatly the Captain was not to be Trifled with, that the Ship was in want of Provisions, and they would have them, or they would carry them all away: They were however well enough Treated, except the Restraint of their Persons, and were often ask'd to Refresh themselves, but they would neither Eat or Drink any more all the while they stay'd on Board, which was till the next Day in the Evening, when to their great Satisfaction they saw a great Boat come off from the Fort, and which came directly on Board with seven Buts of Water, a Cow and a Calf, and a good number of Fowls.

WHEN the Boat came on Board, and had delivered the Stores, Captain *Gow* Complimented the Governour and his Gentlemen, and discharg'd them to their great Joy; and besides discharging them, he gave them, in return for the Provisions they brought, two Crons of Bees Wax, and fir'd them three guns at their going away. I suppose, however, they will have a care how they go on Board of any Ship again in Compliment to their Captain, unless they are very sure who they are.

HAVING had no better Success in this out of the way run to the *Maderas*, they resolved to make the best of their way back again to the Coast of *Spain* or *Portugal*. They accordingly left *Porto Santa* the next Morning, with a fair Wind, standing directly for Cape St *Vincent* or the *Southward Cape*.

THEY had not been upon the Coast of *Spain* above two or three Days before they met with a *New England Ship*, — *Cross* Commander, laden with Staves, and bound for *Lisbon*, and being to Load there with Wine for *Lon-*

don; this was a Prize also of no Value to them, and they began to be very much discouraged with their bad Fortune. However, they took out Captain *Cross* and his men, which were seven or eight in Number, with most of the Provisions and some of the Sails, and gave the Ship to Captain *Wise*, the *Pool* man who they took at first in a Sloop from *Newfoundland*; and in order to pay *Wise* and his Men for what he took from them, and make them Satisfaction, *as he call'd it*, he gave to Captain *Wise*, and his Mate 24 Cerons of Bees Wax, and to each of his Men, who were four in Number, two Cerons of Wax each; thus he pretended honestly, and to make Reparation of Damages by giving them the Goods which he had robb'd the Dutch Merchants of, whose Super-Cargo he had Murthered.

AFTER this, Cruising some Days off of the Bay, they met with a *French* Ship from *Cadiz*, laden with Wine, Oyl, and Fruit; this was, in some respect, the very Thing they wanted; so they Mann'd her with their own Men and stood off to Sea, that they might divide the Spoil of her with more Safety, for they were too near the Land.

AND first they took out the *French* Master and all his Men, which were twelve in Number; then they shifted great Part of the Cargo, especially of the Wine, with some Oyl and a large quantity of Almonds, out of the *French* Ship into their own; with five of his best Guns, and their Carriages, all their Ammunition and small Arms, and all the best of their Sails, and then he gave that Ship to Captain *Somerville*, the *Glasgow* Captain, whose Ship they had sunk, and to Captain *Cross*, the *New England* Captain, who they had taken but just before; and to do Justice, as they call'd it, here also, they gave half the Ship and Cargo

to *Somerville*, onequarter to his Mate, and the other quarter to Captain *Cross*, and 16 Cerons of Wax to the Men to be shar'd among them.

It is to be observ'd herethat Captain *Somerville* carried all his Men along with him, except one who chose to enter among the Pirates, so that he cou'd never pretend he was forced into their Service; but *Cross's* men were all detain'd, whether by Force or by their own Consent, does not appear at present.

THE Day before this Division of the Spoil they saw a large Ship to Windward, which at first put them into some Surprise, for she came bearing down directly upon them, and they thought she had been a *Portuguese* Man of War; but they found soon after that it was a Merchant Ship, had *French* Colours, and bound Home, as they suppos'd, from the *West Indies*; and it was so, for, as we afterwards learn'd, she was loaded at *Martinico*, and bound for *Rochelle*.

THE *Frenchman*, not fearing them, came on large to the Wind, being a Ship of much greater Force than *Gow's* ship, and carrying 32 Guns and 80 Men, besides a great many Passengers; however *Gow* at first made as if he would lye by for them; but seeing plainly what a Ship it was, and that they should have their Hands full of her, he began to consider, and calling his Men all together upon the Deck, told them his Mind (viz.) That the *Frenchman* was apparently superior in Force every way, that they were but ill-mann'd, and had a great many Prisoners on Board, and that some of their own People were not very well to be trusted; that six of their best Hands were on Board the Prize, and that all they had left were not sufficient to ply their Guns and stand by the Sails; and that

therefore, as they were under no Necessity to engage, so he thought it would be next to Madness to think of it, the *French Ship* being so very much Superior to them in Force.

THE Generallity of the Men were of *Gow's* Mind, and agreed to decline the Fight; but *Williams*, his Lieut., strenuously oppos'd it, and being not to be appeas'd by all that *Gow* could say to him, or any one else, flew out in a Rage at *Gow*, upbraiding him with being a Coward, and not fit to command a Ship of Force.

THE Truth is, *Gow's* Reasoning was Good, and the Thing was Just, considering their own Condition. But *Williams* was a Fellow incapable of any solid Thinking, had a kind of a savage, brutal Courage, but nothing of true Bravery in him; and this made him the most desperate and outrageous Villain in the World, and the most cruel and inhuman to those whose Disaster it was to fall into his Hands, as had frequently appear'd in his Usage of the Prisoners, under his Power in this very Voyage.

Gow was a Man of Temper, and notwithstanding all ill Language *Williams* gave him, said little or nothing, but by way of Argument, against attacking the *French Ship*, which would certainly have been too strong for them: But this provok'd *Williams* the more, and he grew to such an extravagant height, that he demanded boldly of *Gow* to give his Orders for Fighting, which *Gow* declining still, *Williams* presented his Pistol at him, and snap'd it, but it did not go off, which enrag'd him the more.

WINTER and *Peterson*, standing nearest to *Williams*, and seeing him so furious, flew at him immediately, and each of them fir'd a Pistol at him; one shot him thro' the Arm, and the other into his Belly, at which he fell, and the Men about him laid hold of him to throw him Over-board,

believing he was dead; but as they lifted him up, he started violently out of their Hands, and leaped directly into the Hold, and from thence ran desperately into the Powder-Room, with his Pistol cock'd in his Hand, swearing he would blow them all up; and had certainly done it, if they had not seiz'd him just as he had gotten the Scuttle open, and was that Moment going in to put his hellish Resolution into practice.

HAVING thus secur'd the demented, raving Creature, they carryed him forward to the Place which they had made on Purpose, between Decks, to secure their Prisoners, and put him in amongst them, having first loaded him with Irons, and particularly Hand-cuffed him with his Hands behind him, to the great Satisfaction of the other Prisoners, who, knowing what a butcherly, furious Fellow he was, were terrified, to the last Degree, to see him come in among them, till they saw the Condition he came in. He was, indeed, the Terror of all the Prisoners, for he usually treated them in a barbarous manner, without the least Provocation, and meerly for his Humour, presenting Pistols to their Breasts, swearing he would shoot them that Moment, and then would beat them unmercifully, and all for his Diversion, as he call'd it.

HAVING thus laid him fast, they presently resolv'd to stand away to the *Westward*, by which they quitted the *Martinico* Ship, who by that time was come nearer to them, and farther convinc'd them they were in no Condition to have Engag'd her, for she was a stout Ship, and full of Men.

ALL this happen'd just the Day before they shar'd their last Prize among the Prisoners (as I have said), in which they put on such a Mock-face of doing Justice to the sever-

al Captains and Mates, and other Men, their Prisoners, whose Ships they had taken away, and who now they made a Reparation to by giving them what they had taken Violently from another, that it was a strange Medly of Mock-Justice made up of Rapine and Generosity blended together.

Two Days after this they took a *Bristol* Ship, bound from *Newfoundland* to *Oporto* with Fish; they let her Cargo alone, for they had no occasion for Fish, but they took out also almost all their Provisions, all the Ammunition, Arms, &c., all her good Sails, also her best Cables, and forced two of her Men to go away with them, and then put 10 of the *French* Men on Board her, and let her go.

BUT just as they were parting with her, they consulted together what to do with *Williams* their Lieutenant, who was then among their Prisoners, and in Irons; and after a short Debate they resolv'd to put him on Board the *Bristol* Man and send him away too, which accordingly was done; with Directions to the Master to deliver him on Board the first *English* Man of War they should meet with, in order to his being hang'd for a Pirate (so they Jeeringly call'd him) as soon as he came to *England*, giving them also an account of some of his Villainies.

THE truth is, this *Williams* was a Monster, rather than a Man; he was the most inhuman, bloody, and desperate Creature that the World could produce; he was even too wicked for *Gow* and all his Crew, tho' they were Pirates and Murderers, as has been said; his temper was so Savage, so Villainous, so Merciless, that even the Pirates themselves told him it was Time he was hang'd out of the Way.

ONE Instance of this Barbarity in *Williams* can not be

omitted, and will be sufficient to justify all that can be said of him, namely, that when *Gow* gave it as a Reason against engaging with the *Martinico* Ship, that he had a great many Prisoners on Board, (as above) and some of their own Men they could not depend upon; *Williams* propos'd to have them all call'd up, one by one, and to cut their Throats and throw them Overboard; A proposal so Horrid, that the worst of the Crew shook their Heads at it; yet *Gow* answer'd him very handsomly, That *there had been too much Blood spilt already*; yet the refusing this highten'd the Quarrel, and was the chief Occasion of his offering to Pistol *Gow* himself, as has been said at large: After which his Behaviour was such, as made all the Ships Crew resolved to be rid of him. And 'twas thought, if they had not had an Opportunity to send him away, as they did by the *Bristol* Ship, they would have been oblig'd to have hang'd him themselves.

THIS cruel and butcherly Temper of *Williams* being carry'd to such a height, so near to the ruine of them all, shock'd some of them, and, as they acknowledg'd, gave them some check in the heat of their wicked Progress, and had they had a fair Opportunity to have gone on shore at the Time, without falling into the Hands of Justice, 'tis believed the greatest Part of them would have abandon'd the Ship, and perhaps the very trade of a Pirate too. But they had dipt their Hands in Blood, and Heaven had no doubt determin'd to bring them, *that is to say*, the Chief of them, to the Gallows for it, as indeed they all deserv'd; so they went on.

WHEN they put *Williams* on board the *Bristol* Man, and he was told what Directions they gave with him, he began to relent, and made all the Intercession he could to

Captain *Gow* for Pardon, or at least not to be put on board the Ship, knowing if he was carried to *Lisbon*, he should meet with his Due from the *Portuguese* if not from the *English*; for it seems he had been concern'd in some Villainies among the *Portuguese*, before he came on board the *George Galley*; what they were he did not confess, nor indeed did his own Ship's Crew trouble themselves to examine him about it: He had been wicked enough among them, and it was sufficient to make them use him as they did; it was more to be wonder'd, indeed, they did not cut him in pieces upon the Spot, and throw him into the Sea, half on one side of the Ship, and half on the other; for there was scarce a Man in the Ship, but on one Occasion or other, had some apprehensions of him, and might be said to go in danger of his Life from him.

BUT they chose to shift their Hands of him this bloodless way; so they double-fetter'd him and brought him up: When they brought him out among the Men, he begg'd they would throw him into the Sea and drown him; then entreated for his Life with a meanness which made them dispise him, and with Tears, so that one Time they began to relent; but then the devilish Temper of the fellow overruled it again; so at last they resolv'd to let him go, and did accordingly put him on Board, and gave him a hearty Curse at parting, wishing him a good Voyage to the Gallows, as was made good afterwards, tho' in such Company as they little thought of at that Time.

THE *Bristol* Captain was very just to them, for, according to their Orders, as soon as they came to *Lisbon*, they put him on Board the *Argyle*, one of his Majesty's Ships, Captain *Bowler*, Commander, then lying in the *Tagus*, and bound Home for *England*, who accordingly brought

him Home; tho', as it happen'd, Heaven brought the Captain and the rest of the Crew so quickly to the End of their Villainies, that they all came Home time enough to be hang'd with their Lieutenant. But I return to *Gow* and his Crew. Having thus dismiss'd the *Bristol* Man, and clear'd his Hands of most of his Prisoners, he, with the same wicked Generosity, gave the *Bristol* Captain 13 Crons of Bees Wax, as a Gratitude for his Trouble and Charge with the Prisoners, and in Recompence, as he call'd it, for the Goods he had taken from him, and so they parted.

WHAT these several Captains did, to whom they thus divided the Spoil of poor *Ferneau's* Cargo, or, as I ought rather to call it, of the Merchants' Cargo which was loaded in *Africa*; I say, what was done with the Bees-wax and other Things which they distributed to the Captains, and their Crews, who they thus transpos'd from Ship to Ship, that we cannot tell, nor indeed could these People either well know how to keep it or how to part with it.

It was certainly a Gift they had no power to give, nor had the other any Right to it by their Donation; but as the Owners were unknown, and the several Persons possessing it are not easily known, I do not see which way the poor *Dutchmen* can come at their Goods again.

It is true, indeed, the Ships which they exchange'd may, and ought to be restored, and the honest Owners put in possession of them again, and I suppose will be so in a legal Manner; but the Goods were so dispers'd that it was impossible.

THIS was the last Prize they took, not only on the Coast of *Portugal*, but any where else; for *Gow* who, to give him his due, was a Fellow of Council, and had a great Presence of Mind in Cases of Exigence, consider'd that as soon as

the *Bristol* Ship came into the River of *Lisbon*, they would certainly give an Account of them, as well of their Strength, as of their Station in which they Cruized; and that consequently the *English* Men of War, of which there are generally some in that River, would immediately come Abroad to look for them: So he began to Reason with his Officers, that now the Coast of Portugal would be no proper Place at all for them, unless they resolved to fall into the Hand of the said Men of War, and that they ought to consider immediately what to do.

IN these Debates, some advised one Thing, some another, as is usual in like Cases: some were for going on to the Coast of *Guinea*, where (as they said) was Purchase enough, and very rich Ships to be taken; others were for going to the *West Indies*, and to Cruize among the Islands, and take up their Station at *Tobago*; others, and that not those of the most Ignorant, proposed the standing in to the Bay of *Mexico*, and to joyn in with some of a new sort of Pirates at *St Jago de la Cuba*, who are all *Spaniards*, and call themselves *guarda del Coasta*, that is, Guardships for the Coast; but under that pretence make Prize of Ships of all Nations, and sometimes even of their own countrymen too, but especially of the *English*; but when this was propos'd, it was answered they durst not trust the *Spaniards*.

ANOTHER sort was for going to the North of *America*, and after having taken a Sloop or two on the Coast of *New-England* or *New-York*, laden with Provisions for the *West-Indies*, which would not have been very hard to do, such being often passing and re-passing there, and by which they might have been sufficiently stor'd with Provision, then to have gone away to the *South Seas*; but Gow

objected, that they were not Mann'd sufficiently for such an Undertaking; and likewise, that they had not sufficient Stores of Ammunition, especially of Powder, and of small Arms, for any considerable Action with the *Spaniards*.

THEN it was offered by the Boatswain, who it seems, had been in that Part of the World, to go away to the *Honduras*, and to the Bay of *Campeachy*, among the Buccaneers and Logwood Cutters, and there they should in the first Place, be sure to pick up forty or fifty stout Fellows, good Sailors, and bold, enterprising Men, who understand the *Spaniards* and the *Spanish* Coast on both sides of *America* as well as any Men in the World, and had all Fire Arms with them, and Ammunition too; and that being well Mann'd, they might take their hazard for Provisions, which might be had any where, at least of one Sort if not of another; besides, when they were thoroughly Mann'd, they might cruize for Provisions any where, and might be as likely to meet with the *New-York* and *New-England* Sloops on the back of the Islands, in their way to *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*, as any where.

OTHERS said they should go first to the Islands of *New-Providence*, or to the mouth of the Gulph of *Florida*, and then cruising on the Coast of *North America*, and making their Retreat at *New Providence*, Cruize from the Gulf of *Florida*, North upon the Coast of *Carolina*, and as high as the Capes of *Virginia*. But nothing could be resolv'd on; till at last *Gow* let them into the Secret of a Project which, as he told them, he had long had in his Thoughts, and which was, to go away to the *North* of *Scotland*, near the Coast of which, as he said, he was Born and Bred, and where he said, if they met with no Purchase upon the Sea,

he could tell them how they should Enrich themselves by going on Shore.

To bring them to concur with this Design, he represented the Danger they were in, where they were (as above:) The want they were in of fresh Water, and of several kinds of Provisions, but, above all, the Necessity they were in of careening and cleaning their Ship: That it was too long a Run for them to go to the *Southward*; and that they had not Provisions to serve them till they could reach to any Place proper for that Purpose; and might be driven to the utmost Distress if they should be put by from Watering, either by Weather or Enemies.

Also he told them, if any of the Men of War came out in Search of them, they would never Imagine they were gone away to the *Northward*; so that their Run that Way was perfectly secure: And he could assure them of his own Knowledge, that if they landed in such Places as he should direct, they could not fail of a comfortable Booty in plundering some Gentlemens Houses, who liv'd Secure and Unguarded very near the Shore: And that tho' the Country should be Allarm'd, yet before the Government could send any Men of War to Attack them, they might clean their Ship, lay in a Store of fresh Provisions, and be gone; and besides that they would get a good many stout Fellows to go along with them, upon his Encouragement; and that they should be better Mann'd than they were yet, and should be Ready against all Events.

THESE Arguments, and their approaching Fate Concurring, had a sufficient Influence on the Ship's Company to prevail on them to Consent: So they made the best of their Way to the *Northward*, and about the middle of last January they arrived at *Carristown*, in the Isles of Orkney,

and came to an Anchor in a Place which *Gow* told them, was safe Riding under the Lee of a small Island at some Distance from the Port.

Gow being sole Director, as well as Commander of the Ship, call'd them all together, to tell them what Account they should give of themselves, when they came to Converse with any of the People of the Island, that they might agree in their Story, and give no Cause of Suspicion; and 'tis most certain, that had they been careful to observe his Directions, and not betray'd and expos'd themselves, they might have pass'd undiscover'd, and done all the Mischief they intended without allarming the Country. His Orders were, that they should say they came from *Cadiz*, and were bound for *Stockholm*, and thence to *Dantzick*; but that they had had a long Passage, by reason of contrary Winds, and lost their Opportunity of passing the *Sound*, which was now full of Ice, if not frozen up; and that they had been driven so far to the *Norward* by Stress of Weather, that they wanted Water and fresh Provisions, and to clean their Ship; that they would pay for whatever they were supply'd with; and that by the Time they had clean'd their Ship, they hop'd the Weather would be Warm, and the Seas open for them to proceed on their Voyage. This Tale was easie to tell, and probable enough, and therefore likely enough to be believed; and they all oblig'd themselves to give the same Account exactly, and not to vary the least Tittle of it, or so much as whisper otherwise, upon Pain of immediate Death.

IN *Carristoun* Harbour they found a small Scotch Bark — *Lumsdale*, Master — laden with Wine and Brandy, and bound about to the Isle of *Man*; this was a welcome Thing to them all; and had it been any where else, they would

have made it a good Prize: But as they had Goods sufficient on board, and such as were very Acceptable Merchandise, *Lumsdale* traded freely with them, and *Gow* bartered seven Cerons of Wax and about 200 l. Weight of *Barbary* Copper with him for a Hogshead of *Geneva* and an Anchor of *Brandy*, and some other Goods; and it was believed that *Gow* had some Money into the Bargain.

A day or two after, a *Swedish* Vessel came into the Road, bound from *Stockholm* to *Glasgow*, and laden with *Swedes* Iron, and *East* Country Plank; they traded with her also for 20 Coil of new Rope, for which *Gow* gave the Master eleven Cerons of Bees Wax: It has been said, they plunder'd this Vessel of several other Goods, and oblig'd the Master to promise to Sail directly to his Port, without speaking to any Body, on Pain of sinking the Ship; But this wants Confirmation; nor is it Probable, they would venture to do so in a Port where they resolv'd to stay any long Time, and where they knew it was so Necessary to be entirely conceal'd.

BUT now their Misfortunes began to come on, and Things look'd but with an indifferent Aspect upon them; for several of their Men, especially such of them as had been forc'd or decoy'd into their Service, began to think of making their Escape from them; and to cast about for Means to bring it to pass. The first was a young Man, who was originally one of the Ships Company, but was Forced by fear of being Murther'd, *as has been observ'd*, to give a silent Assent to go with them; he took an Opportunity to get away.

It was one Evening when the Boat went on Shore (for they kept a civil Correspondence with the People of the Town), this young Fellow being one of the Ships Crew,

and having been several Times on Shore before, and therefore not suspected, gave them the Slip, and got away to a Farm-house which lay under a Hill, out of sight; and there, for two or three Pieces of Eight, he got a Horse, and soon, by that means escap'd to *Kirkwall*, a Market-Town, and the Chief of the *Orkneys*, about 12 miles from the Place where the Ship lay.

As soon as he came there, he surrender'd himself to the Government, desiring Protection, and inform'd them who *Gow* was, and what the Ships Crew were, and upon what Business they were Abroad; with what else he knew of their Designs, as to plundering the Gentlemens Houses, &c. Upon which they immediately rais'd the Country, and got a strength together to defend themselves.

BUT the next Disaster that attended them, was, (for Misfortunes seldom come alone) more fatal than this, for 10 of *Gow's* Men, most of them likewise Men forced into the Service, went away with the long Boat, making the best of their Way for the main Land of *Scotland*.

N.B. These Men however they did, and what Shift soever they made to get so far, were taken in the *Firth* of *Edenburg*, and made Prisoners there.

HAD *Gow* taken the Alarm, as he ought to have done, at either of these Accidents, and put to Sea, either stood over for the Coast of *Norway*, or have run thro' *Westward*, between the Islands, and gone for the *Isle* of *Man*, or for the *North* of *Ireland*, he might easily have gone clear off; for there was no Vessel in the Country that was of Force sufficient to have spoken with him.

BUT harden'd for his own Destruction, and Justice evidently pursuing him, he grew Bolder for the Disaster; and notwithstanding that the Country was alarm'd, and

that he was fully discover'd, instead of making a timely Escape, he resolved to Land upon them, and to put his intended Projects, (*viz.*) of Plundering the Gentlemens Houses, in Execution, whatever it cost him.

IN Order to this, he sent the Boatswain and 10 Men on Shore, the very same Night, very well Arm'd, directing them to go to the House of Mr *Honnyman* of *Grahamsey*, Sheriff of the County, and who was himself at that Time, to his great good Fortune, from Home: The People of the House had not the least Notice of their coming, so that when they knock'd at the Door it was immediately open'd, upon which they all enter'd the House at once, except one *Panton*, who they set Centinel, and order'd him to stand at the Door to secure their Retreat, and to secure any from coming in after them.

MRS *Honnyman* and her Daughter were extremely Frighted at the sight of so many Armed Men coming into the House, and ran screaming about, like People Distracted, while the Pirates, not regarding them, were looking about for Chests and Trunks, where they might expect to find some Plunder: And Mrs. *Honnyman*, in her Fright, coming to the Door, ask'd *Panton*, the Man who was set Centinel there, what the Meaning of it all was? and he told her freely they were Pirates, and that they came to Plunder the House. At this she recovered some Courage, and run back into the House immediately; and knowing, to be sure, where her Money lay, which was very Considerable, and all in Gold, she put the Bags in her Lap, and boldly rushing by *Panton*, who thought she was only running from them, in a Fright, carryed it all off, and so made her escape with the Treasure. The Boatswain being inform'd that the Money was carryed off, resolved to re-

venge himself by burning the Writings and Papers, which they call there, the Charters of their Estates, and are always of great Value in Gentlemens Houses of Estates; but the young Lady, Mr *Honnyman's* Daughter, hearing them threaten to burn the Writings, watch'd her Opportunity, and running to the *Charter* Room where they lay, and tying the most considerable of them up in a Napkin, threw them out of the Window, jump't after them herself, and Escaped without Damage, though the Window was one Story high at least.

HOWEVER the Pirates had the Plundering of all the rest of the House, and carryed off a great deal of Plate and Things of Value; and forced one of the Servants, who played very well on the Bagpipe, to march along, Piping before them, when they carryed them off to the Ship.

THE next Day they weigh'd Anchor, intending, tho' they had clean'd but one side of the Ship, to put out to Sea and quit the Coast; but sailing *Eastward*, they came to an Anchor again at a little Island, call'd *Calfsound*; and, having some farther Mischief in their view here, the Boatswain went on Shore again, with some Armed Men; but meeting with no other Plunder, they carryed off three Women, who they kept on Board some time, and used so Inhumanely that when they set them on Shore again, they were not able to go or to stand: and we hear that one of them dyed on the Beach where they left them.

THE next Day they weigh'd again, holding the same Course *Eastward* thro' the Openings between the Islands, till they came off of *Rossness*: And now *Gow* resolved to make the best of his Way for the Island of *Eda*, to Plunder the House of Mr. *Fea*, a Gentleman of a considerable

Estate, and who *Gow* had some Acquaintance with, having been at School together when they were youths.

It seems *Gow's* Reason for resolving to attack this Gentleman, who was his old Acquaintance, was, that he thought the Alarm, given at *Carristoun*, would necessarily draw the Gentlemen, and the best of their Forces, that Way, which Guess was far from being Improbable; for just so it was, only with Respect to Mr. *Fea*, who having had the Allarm with the rest, yet stay'd at Home on a particular Occasion, his Wife being, at that Time very much Indisposed.

It is to be observ'd here, that *Carristoun* and *Eda* lie with Respect to each other, *N.-East* and *S.-West*, and the Bodies of the chief Islands lye between them.

On the 13th of *February*, in the Morning, *Gow* appearing with his Ship off the Island, call'd the *Calfsound*, Mr. *Fea* and his Family were very much alarm'd, not being able to gather above six or seven Men for his Defence; he therefore wrote a Letter to *Gow*, intending to send it on Board as soon as he should get into the Harbour, to desire him to forbear the usual Salutes with his great Guns, because Mrs *Fea* his Wife was so very much Indispos'd: And this, as he would oblige his old Schoolfellow, telling him at the same time, that the Inhabitants were all fled to the Mountains, on the Report of his being a Pirate, which he hoped would not prove true; in which Case, he should be very ready to supply him with all such Necessaries as the Island would afford; desiring him to send the Messenger safe back, at whose Return the Allarms of the People would immediately be at an End.

THE Tide it seems runs extreamly Rapid among those Islands, and the Navigation is thereby render'd very dan-

gerous and uncertain: *Gow* was an able Seaman, but he was no Pilot for that Place, and which was worse, he had no Boat to Assist, in case of Extremity, to ware the Ship; and in turning into *Calf Sound* he stood a little too near the Point of a little Island call'd the *Calf*, and which lay in the middle of the Passage; here his Ship, missing Stays, was in great Danger of going a-Shore, to avoid which he dropp'd an Anchor under his Foot, which, taking good hold, brought him up, and he thought the Danger was over.

BUT as the Wind was, he lay so near the Shore, that he could not get under Sail again for want of a Boat to Tow him out of the Channel, or to carry off an Anchor to heave him out.

THAT little Island above is uninhabited, but affords Pasture to five or six Hundred Sheep, which Mr *Fea* always keeps upon it, for it belonged wholly to him: *Gow* was now in Distress, and had no Remedy but to send his small Boat on Shore to Mr *Fea*, to desire his Assistance, that is to say, to desire him to lend him a Boat to carry out an Anchor to heave off the Ship.

Mr *Fea* sent back the Boat, and one *James Laing* in it, with the Letter which I have already mentioned; *Gow* sent him back immediately with this Answer, by Word of Mouth, (*viz.*) that he would write to no Body; But if Mr *Fea* would order his People to assist him with a Boat, to carry out an Anchor, he would Reward them handsomly: Mr *Fea*, in the mean time, order'd his great Boat (for he had such a Boat as *Gow* wanted) to be stav'd and launch'd into the Water and sunk, and the Masts, Sails, and Oars to be carryed privately out of Sight.

WHILE this was doing, Mr *Fea* perceiv'd *Gow's* Boat coming on Shore, with five Persons in her: These Men

having landed on the main Island, left their Boat on the Beach, and all together march'd directly up to the Mansion House. This put him into some Surprise at first, however, he resolv'd to meet them in a peaceable Manner, though he perceiv'd they were all double Arm'd: when he came up to them he entreated them not to go up to the House, because of the languishing Condition of his Wife; that she was already frighted with the Rumours which had been rais'd of their being Pirates, and that she would certainly die with the fear she was in for herself and Family, if they came to the Door.

THE Boatswain answer'd, They did not desire to fright his Wife, or any Body else; but they came to desire the assistance of his Boat, and if he would not grant them so small a Favour, he had nothing to expect from them but the utmost Extremity. Mr *Fea* return'd that they knew well enough he could not answer giving them, or lending them his Boat, or any Help, as they appear'd to be such People as was reported; but that if they would take them by Force, he could not help himself.

BUT in the mean time, talking still in a friendly Manner to them, he ask'd them to go to a neighbouring House, which he said was a Change House, *that is a Publick-House*, and take a Cup of Ale with him.

This they consented to, seeing Mr *Fea* was all alone, so they went all with him; Mr *Fea* in the mean time found means to give private Orders that the Oars, and Mast and Sails of the Pirates boat should be all carry'd away, and that in a quarter of an Hour after they had sat together, he should be call'd hastily out of the Room on some pretence or other of some body to speak with him, all which was perform'd to a Tittle.

WHEN he had got from them, he gave Orders that his Six Men, who, as before, he had got together, and who were now come to him well arm'd, should place themselves at a certain Stile, behind a thick Hedge, and which was about half the way between the Ale-House and his own House; that if he came that way with the Boatswain alone, they should suddenly start out upon them both, and throwing him down, should seize upon the other; but that if all the five came with him, he would take an Occasion to be either before or behind them, so that they might all fire upon them without danger of hurting him.

HAVING given these Orders, and depending upon their being well executed, he return'd to the Company, and having given them more Ale, told them he would gladly do them any Service that he could lawfully do, and that if they would take the trouble of walking up to his House in a peaceable Manner, that his Family might not be frighted with seeing himself among them, they should have all the Assistance that was in his Power.

THE Fellows, whether they had taken too much Ale, or whether the Condition of their Ship, and the Hopes of getting a Boat to help them, blinded their Eyes, is not certain, fell with ease into his Snare, and agreed readily to go along with Mr *Fea*; but after awhile resolv'd not to go all of them, only deputed the Boatswain to go, which was what Mr *Fea* most desir'd. The Boatswain was very willing to accept of the Trust, but it was observ'd he took a great deal of care of his Arms, which was no less than four Pistols, all loaded with a brace of Bullets each; nor would he be persuaded to leave any of them behind him, no, not with his own Men.

IN this Posture Mr *Fea* and the Boatswain walk'd along

together very quietly till they came to the Stile, which having got over, Mr *Fea*, seeing his Men all ready, turn'd short about upon the Boatswain, and taking him by the Collar, told him he was his Prisoner, and the same Moment the rest of his men rushing upon them, threw them both down, and so secur'd the Boatswain without giving him time so much as to fire one Pistol. He cry'd out, indeed, with all his Might to allarm his men, but they soon stopt his Mouth, by first forcing a Pistol into it, and then a Handkerchief, and having disarm'd him, and bound his Hands behind him, and his Feet together, Mr *Fea* left him there under a Guard, and with his five other Men, but without any Arms, at least that could be seen, return'd to the Ale-House to the rest: The House having two Doors, they divided themselves, and having rush'd in at both Doors at the same time, they seiz'd all the four men before they were aware, or had time to lay hold of their Arms: They did indeed what Men could do, and one of them snapp'd a pistol at Mr *Fea*, but it did not go off; and Mr *Fea* snatching at the Pistol at the same Moment to divert the Shot if it had fir'd, struck his Hand with such force against the Cock, as very much bruised his Hand.

THEY were all five now in his Power, and he sent them away under a good Guard to a Village in the middle of the Island, where they were kept separate from one another, and sufficiently secur'd. Then Mr *Fea* despatch'd Expresses to the Gentlemen in the neighbouring Islands to acquaint them with what he had done, and to desire their speedy Assistance; also desiring earnestly that they would take care than no Boat should go within reach of the Pirate's Guns; and at Night he, Mr *Fea*, caus'd Fires to be made upon the Hills round him, to allarm the Country,

and ordered all the Boats round the Island to be haul'd up upon the Beach as far as was possible, and disabled also, lest the Pirates should swim from the Ship and get any of them into their Possession.

NEXT Day, the 14th, it blew very hard all Day, and in the Evening, about High Water, it shifted to W.N.W., upon which the Pirates set their Sails, expecting to get off, and so to lay it round the Island, and put out to Sea; but the Fellow who was order'd to cut the Cable missing several strokes the Cable check'd the Ships Way, and consequently, on a sudden, she took all a-back; then the Cable being parted, when it should have held, the Ship ran directly on shore on the *Calf Island*; nor could all their Skill prevent it. Then *Gow*, with an air of Desperation, told them they were all dead Men: Nor indeed could it be otherways, for having lost the only Boat they had, and five of their best Hands, they were able to do little or nothing towards getting their Ship off; besides, as she went on Shore, on the Top of High Water, and a Spring Tide, there was no Hope of getting her off afterward: Wherefore the next morning, being *Monday*, the 15th, they hung out a white Flag as a Signal for a Parley, and sent a Man on Shore, upon *Calf Island*, for now they cou'd go on shore out of the Ship almost at half Flood.

Now Mr *Fea* thought he might talk with *Gow* in a different Style from what he did before, so he wrote a Letter to him, wherein he complain'd of the rude Behaviour of his five Men, for which he told him he had been oblig'd to seize on them and make them Prisoners, letting him know that the Country, being all allarm'd, would soon be too many for him; and therefore advis'd him to surrender himself Peaceably, and be the Author of a quiet Surrender

of the rest, as the only Means to obtain any Favour; and then he might become an Evidence against the rest, and so might save his own Life.

THIS letter Mr *Fea* sent by a Boat with four armed Men to the Island, to be given to the Fellow that *Gow* had sent on Shore, and who waited there; and he at the same time gave them a Letter from *Gow* to Mr. *Fea*; for now he was humble enough to Write, which before he refused.

Gow's letter to Mr *Fea* was to let him have some Men and Boats to take out the best of the Cargoe, in order to lighten the Ship and set her afloat; and offering himself to come on Shore and be Hostage, for the Security of the Men and Boats, and to give Mr *Fea* a thousand Pounds in Goods for the Service: Declaring at the same time, if this small Succour was refus'd him, he would take care no Body should better himself by his Misfortune; for that rather than to be taken, they would set Fire to the ship, and would all Perish together.

MR *Fea* reply'd to this Letter, That he had a Boat indeed, that would have been fit for his Service, but that she was stav'd and sunk; but if he would come on Shore quietly without Arms, and bring his Carpenter with him to repair the Boat, he might have her. This Mr *Fea* did to give *Gow* an Opportunity to embrace his first offer of Surrendering. But *Gow* was neither Humble enough to come in, nor Sincere enough to treat with him fairly, if he had intended to let him have the Boat; and if he had, 'tis probable that the former Letter had made the Men Suspicious of him; So that now he could do nothing without communicating it to the rest of the Crew.

ABOUT four in the Afternoon Mr *Fea* received an An-

swer to his last Letter: The Copy of which is exactly as follows:—

“From on Board our Ship the

“Revenge, Feb. 16, 1725.

“Honour’d SIR,

“I am sorry to hear of the irregular Proceedings of my
“Men. I gave no Orders to that Effect. And what hath
“been wrongfully done to the Country was contrary to
“my Inclination. It is my Misfortune to be in this Condi-
“tion at present: It was in your Power to have done Other-
“wise in making my Fortune better. Since my being in
“the Country I have wrong’d no Man, nor taken any
“Thing but what I have paid for. My Design in coming
“was to make the Country the better, which I am still cap-
“able to do, providing you are just to me. I thank you for
“the Concern you have had for my bad Fortune; and am
“sorry I cannot embrace your Proposal, as being Evi-
“dence; my People have already made use of that Ad-
“vantage. I have by my last signified my Design of Pro-
“ceeding, provided I can procure no better Terms.
“Please to send *James Laing* on board to continue till my
“return. I should be glad to have the good Fortune to
“commune with you upon that Subject. I beg you will as-
“sist me with a Boat; and be assured I do no Man Harm,
“wer’t in my Power, as I am now at your Mercy. I cannot
“surrender myself Prisoner; I’d rather commit my self to
“the Mercy of the Seas: So that if you will incline to con-
“tribute to my Escape, shall leave you Ship and Cargo at
“your Disposal.

“I continue, honour’d Sir, &c.,

John Smith.”

UPON this Letter, and especially that Part wherein *Gow* desires to commune with him, *Mr Fea* believing he might do some Service in perswading him to submit, went over to *Calf Island*, and went on Shore alone, ordering his Boat to lie in readiness to take him in again, but not one Man to stir out of her: And calling to *Gow* with a Speaking-Trumpet, desir'd him to come on Shore, which the other readily did: But *Mr Fea*, before he ventur'd, wisely foresaw, that whilst he was alone, upon the Island, the Pirates might unknown to him, get from the Ship by different Ways, and, under Cover of Shore, might get behind and surround him; to prevent which, he set a Man upon the top of his own House, which was on the opposite Shore, and overlook'd the whole Island, and order'd him to make Signals with his Flag, waving his flag once for every Man that he saw come on Shore; but if four or more came on Shore, then to keep the Flag waving continually, till he, *Mr Fea*, should retire.

THIS Precaution was very needful, for no sooner was *Mr Fea* advanc'd upon the Island, expecting *Gow* to come on Shore, to meet him; but he saw a Fellow come from the Ship with a white Flag, and a Bottle, and a Glass, and a Bundle; then turning to his own House, he saw his Man make the Signals appointed, and that the Man kept the flag continually waving; upon which he immediately retir'd to his Boat, and he no sooner got into it, but he saw five Fellows running under Shore, with lighted Matches and Granadoes in their Hands, to have Intercepted him, but seeing him out of their Reach, they retir'd to the Ship.

AFTER this the Fellow with the white Flag came up, and gave *Mr Fea* two Letters; he would have left the Bundle, which he said was a present to *Mr Fea*; and the

Bottle, which he said, was a Bottle of Brandy; but Mr *Fea* would not take them; but told the Fellow his Captain was a treacherous Villain, and he did not doubt but he should see him hang'd; and as to him, the Fellow, he had a great Mind to shoot him; upon which the Fellow took to his Heels, and Mr *Fea* being in his Boat, did not think it worth while to land again to pursue him. This put an End to all Parlee for the present. But had the Pirates succeeded in this Attempt, they would have so far gained their Point, either they must have been Assisted, or Mr *Fea* must have been Sacrific'd.

THE Two Letters from *Gow* were one for Mr *Fea*, and the other for his Wife, the first was much to the same Purpose as the former; only that in this, *Gow* requested the great Boat with her Masts and Sails and Oars, with some Provisions, to transport themselves whither they thought fit to go for their own Safety; offering to leave the Ship and Cargo to Mr *Fea*, and threatening, that if the Men of War arrived (for Mr *Fea* had given him Notice that he expected two Men of War) before he was thus assisted, they would set Fire to the Ship and blow themselves up; so that as they had liv'd they would all dye together.

THE Letter to Mrs *Fea*, was to desire her to Intercede with her Husband; and pleading that he was their Countryman, and had been her Husband's School-fellow, &c. But no Answer was returned to either of these letters.

ON the 17th, in the Morning, contrary to Expectation, *Gow* himself came on Shore, upon the *Calf-Island* unarm'd, except his Sword, and alone, except one Man at a distance, carrying a white Flag, making Signals for a parlee.

Mr *Fea*, who by this time had gotten more People

about him, immediately sent one Mr *Fea* of *Whiteball*, and a Gentleman of his own Family, with five other Persons, well Armed, over to the Island, with Orders to secure *Gow*, if it was possible, by any means, either Dead or Alive. When they came on Shore, he proposed that one of them, whose Name was *Scollary*, a Master of a Vessel, should go on Board the Ship, as Hostage for this *Gow*'s Safety; and *Scollary* consenting, *Gow* himself conducted him to the Ships side.

Mr *Fea*, perceiving this from his own House, immediately took another Boat, and went over to the Island himself: And while he was expostulating with his Men, for letting *Scollary* go for Hostage, *Gow* return'd; and Mr *Fea* made no Hesitation, but told him, in short, he was *his Prisoner*; at which *Gow* starting, said, it ought not to be so, since there was a Hostage delivered for him. Mr *Fea* said he gave no Order for it, and it was what they could not Justify; and since *Scollary* had ventured without Orders, he must take his Fate; he would run the Venture of it, but advis'd *Gow*, as he expected good Usage himself, that he would send the Fellow who carryed his white Flag, back to the Ship, with Orders for them to return *Scollary* in safety, and to desire *Winter* and *Peterson* to come with him.

Gow declin'd giving any such Orders; but the Fellow said he would readily go and fetch them, and did so, and they came along with him. When *Gow* saw them, he reproach'd them for being so easily imposed, and order'd them to go back to the Ship immediately. But Mr *Fea*'s Men, who were too strong for them, surrounded them, and took them all. When this was done, they demanded *Gow* to deliver his Sword, but he said he would rather dye with it in his Hand, and begg'd them to shoot him: But

that was deny'd; and Mr *Fea's* Men, disarming him of his Sword, carried him with the other two, into their Boat, and after that to the main Island, where Mr *Fea* liv'd.

HAVING thus secur'd the captain, Mr *Fea* prevailed with him to go to the Shore over-against the Ship, and to call the Gunner and another Man to come on Ashore on *Calf-Island*, which they did; but they was no sooner there, but they also were surrounded by some Men, which Mr *Fea* had placed out of sight upon the Island for that Purpose; Then they made *Gow* to call to the Carpenter to come on Shore, still making them believe they should have a Boat, and Mr *Fea* went over and met him alone, and talking to him, told him they could not repair the Boat without Help, and without Tools, so perswaded him to go back to the Ship, and bring a Hand or two with him, and some Tools, some Ockham, Nails, &c. The Carpenter, being thus deluded, went back, and brought a *Frenchman* and another with him, with all Things proper for their Work; all which, as soon as they came on Shore, were likewise seiz'd and secured by Mr *Fea* and his Men.

BUT there was still a great many Men in the Ship, who it was necessary to bring, if possible, to a quiet Surrender. So Mr *Fea* order'd his Men to make a Feint as if they would go to Work upon the great Boat which lay on Shore upon the Island, but in sight of the Ship; there they hammer'd, and knock'd, and made a Noise, as if they were really caulking and repairing her, in order to her being launch'd off and put into their Possession. But towards Night he oblig'd *Gow* to write to the Men that Mr *Fea* would not deliver the Boat till he was in Possession of the Ship; and therefore he order'd them all to come on Shore, without Arms, and in a peaceable manner.

THIS occasioned many Debates in the Ship; but as they had no Officers to guide them, and were all in Confusion, they knew not what to do: So after some time, bewailing their hard Fate, and dividing what Money was left in the Ship among them, they yielded, and went on Shore, and were all made Prisoners, to the number of eight-and-twenty, including those who were secur'd before.

How he brought *Gow* to be so weak was something strange; *Gow* being not very supple and far from being sufficiently humble: But whether it was that he hoped to fare the better for it, and to plead some Merit by obliging his Men to come in without Blood and perhaps they might encourage him in such Expectations, tho' not promise him, for the last they could not.

OR whether it was that *Gow*, who knew their Circumstances and Temper also, was satisfy'd if he did not persuade them to it, they would certainly do it without any Persuasion in a Day or two more, having, indeed, no other Remedy, and some of them being really forced Men, desiring nothing more than to surrender.

AND if it was neither of these, perhaps *Gow*, whose Case was now desperate, and who was fully in the Power of his Enemies, and in the Hands of Justice himself, from whom he had indeed no reason to expect any Favour, was, perhaps I say, he was not over-desirous to have the rest make their Escape, and therefore was easier to persuade them to put themselves into the same unhappy Circumstances with himself; it being most Natural to People in such Circumstances to desire to have their Comrades engulfed in the same Misery.

BE it which of these it will, Mr *Fea* did certainly prevail

with *Gow* to be the Instrument to write to them, and to joyn, as it were, with Mr *Fea's* Stratagem to draw them on Shore, without which they had not come, at least not at that Time, and so they said afterwards, upbraiding him with having betray'd them; and yet it seems plain too, that when they went they took it for granted that they should be made Prisoners, by their Exclamations one to another, and by their sharing the Money among them, as is said above.

It was indeed a most agreeable Sight, to see such a Crew of desperate Fellows so tamely surrender to a few almost naked Countrymen, and to see them so Circumvented by one Gentleman that they were rendered quite Useless to themselves, and to their own Deliverance; the want of a Boat was as much to them as an actual Imprisonment; nay, they were indeed in Prison in their Ship, nor was they able to stir one way or other, Hand or Foot; it was too Cold to swim over to the Island and seize the Boat, and if they had, unless they had done it immediately at first, the People on Shore would have been too strong for them; so that they were as secure on board the Ship, as to any Escape they could have made, as they were afterwards in the Condemn'd Hold in *Newgate*.

AGAIN, never were People more foolishly Circumvented when they had a Boat and Conveniences, for had they gone on Shore then, while they had a Boat, tho' it was but their small Boat, yet going at twice, twenty or five and twenty Men of them, they might have repair'd and launched Mr *Fea's* great Boat, in spite of all he could have done to hinder it, and then, if they could not have got their Ship off, they might have come away, as the Fellows did, with their own Boat, and might soon have found Means to get

a bigger Boat on the Coast, either of *Scotland* or *England*, and getting on Shore in the Night, in any convenient Part of *England*, might have dispers'd and mixt themselves among the People, and made an effectual Escape.

BUT their End was apparently at hand; Justice was ready for them; their Crimes had ripen'd them for the Gallows, and the Gallows claim'd them; their Time was come, and it was not in their Power to avoid it.

I am longer upon this particular Part because it is so very remarkable, and the Circumstances of it are so unaccountable; That the Boatswain should come on Shore with his Boat, and no more but four Men, thinking to fire and plunder Mr *Fea*'s House with that little Crew; as if he could imagine Mr *Fea*, who they knew was alarm'd and had been acquainted with what they were, should have no Body at all with him, or that he could storm his House with that little Force.

THEN that he should be wheedled into an Ale House by a single Gentleman; as if he would have ventur'd himself into an Ale House with them if he had not had help at Hand to rescue him if any thing had been offered to him.

THEN, which was still worse, that they should be taken with the old Bite of having the Gentleman call'd out of the Room, when they were together, as if he could have any Business to talk of there but to lay a Trap for them, and which, if they had their Eyes about them, or, as we might say, any Eyes in their Heads, they might have seen into easily enough.

AND to conclude this scene of Madness and Folly together, they came all away and left their Boat, with no Body either in her to keep her a-float, or near her to guard and defend her: Nothing but Men infatuated to their own

Deſtruction, and condemn'd by the viſible Hand of Heaven to an immediate Surprize, could have been ſo ſtupid; they might have been ſure, if there were any People in the Iſland, they would if poſſible ſecure their Boat; and they ought at leaſt to have conſidered the forlorn Condition of the reſt of their Company in the Ship, without a Boat to help themſelves: But blinded by their inevitable Fate, in a Word, they run into the Snare with their Eyes open; they ſtood as it were, looking on, and ſaw themſelves taken before it was done.

NAY, ſome of the Men were heard to ſay, that if their Captain, *Gow* himſelf, had but ſaid the Word, they were able to have built a Boat on Board, with ſuch ſtuff as they could have pull'd from the Sides and Ceilings of the Ship, at leaſt big enough to have gone out to Sea, and ſailing along the Coaſt, have either found a better, or ſeiz'd upon ſome other Veſſel in the Night, or to have made their Escape.

BUT never Creatures were taken ſo tamely, trick'd ſo eaſily, and ſo entirely diſabled from the leaſt Defence, or the leaſt Contrivance for their Escape; even *Gow* himſelf, who, as I ſaid before, never wanted a reſolute Courage or Preſence of Mind before, and was never daunted by any Difficulties, yet was now ſnapp'd under a pretence of a Hoſtage, delivered, and being himſelf taken and diſarm'd, yields himſelf to be made a Tool of to bring all the reſt to yield at Diſcretion.

IN a word, they were as void of Counſel as of Courage; they were outwitted on every Occaſion; they could not ſee in the open Day what any one elſe would have felt in the Dark; but they dropp'd inſenſibly into Mr *Fea*'s Hand by one, and two, and three at a time, as if they had

told him before hand, that if he went on with his Stratagem, he should be sure to have them all in his Custody very quickly: And tho' every one, as fast as they went on Shore, were made Prisoners, and secur'd, yet the other were made to believe they were at Liberty, and were simple enough to come on Shore to them.

EVERY thing we can say of the blindness and folly of these People, who Heaven having determin'd to Punishment, demented and blinded to prepare them for their being brought to it, I say, everything that can be said to expose their Stupidity and blindness, is a just Panegyrick upon the Conduct of that Gentleman, by whose happy Conduct, and the dexterous Turn he gave to every Incident which happen'd in the whole Affair, was indeed the principal Means of their being all apprehended.

HAD this Gentleman, knowing their Strength and Number was so great, being four times as many Men as he had about him, and better provided for Mischief, than he was for Defence; had he, as it seems others did, fled with his Family over the Firth, or Arm of the Sea, which parted his Island from the rest, by which they had secur'd themselves from Danger; or had he, with the few Men and Fire Arms which he had about him, fortified and defended themselves in his House, and resolv'd to defend themselves there, the Pirates had in all probability gone off again, left him, and made their Escape: Nay, if they had run their Ship a-ground, as they afterwards did, and tho' they had been obliged to lay the Bones there, they would, however, have got away some Boat off the Shore to have made a Long-boat of, and have made their Escape along the Coast, till they came to *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and there nothing had been more easy than to have sepa-

rated and gone to *London*, some in one ship, some in another; or, as one of them propos'd, they should have found some Coasting Bark or other riding near the Shore, which they might have boarded, and so gone off to Sea which way they pleas'd.

BUT they were come a great Way to bring themselves to Justice, and here they met with it in the most remarkable Manner, and with such Circumstances as I believe are not to be imitated in the World.

WHEN they were all on Shore, and were told that they were Prisoners, they began to re assume a kind of Courage, and to look upon one another, as if to lay hold of some Weapons to resist; and 'tis not doubted but if they had had Arms then in their Hands, they would have made a desperate Defence. But it was too late, the thing was all over, they saw their Captain and all their Officers in the same Condition, and there was no room for Resistance then; all they could have done had been only to cause them to be the more effectually secur'd, and perhaps to have had some or other of them knock'd on the Head for Example; so seeing there was no Remedy they all submitted quietly, and were soon dispers'd one from another, till more Strength came to carry them off, which was not long.

THUS ended their desperate Undertaking, Heaven having by a visible Infatuation upon themselves, and a Concurrence of other Circumstances, brought them all into the Hands of Justice, and that by the particular Bravery and Conduct of one Gentleman, I mean Mr *Fea*, who so well manag'd them, that, *as above*, having at first but five or six Men with him, he brought the whole Company, partly by Force and partly by Stratagem, to sub-

mit, and that without any loss of Blood on one side or other.

AMONG the rest of the Papers found on board the Ship, was the following Copy of a Draft, or Agreement of Articles or Orders, or what you please to call them, which were to have been sign'd, and were for the Direction of the Men, whether on Shore or on Board, when they came to an Anchor in the *Orkneys*.

THEY would, I suppose, have been put up upon the Mainmast if they had had longer time; but they soon found Articles were of no Value with such Fellows; for the going away with the Long-boat, and ten Men in her, confounded all their Measures, made them jealous and afraid of one another, and made them act afterwards as if they were under a General Infatuation or Possession, all-ways Irresolute and Unsettled, void of any Forecast or reasonable Actings; but having the Plunder of Mr *Fea's* House in their View, when they should have chiefly regarded their own Safety and making their Escape; they push'd at the least Significant, tho' most difficult Part, and which was their Ruin in the Undertaking, when they should at first have secured their Lives, which, at least to them, was the Thing of most Value, tho' the easiest at that Time to have secur'd.

By this preposterous Way of Proceeding they drew themselves into the Labyrinth and were destroy'd, without any possibility of Recovery; nay, they must have perish'd by Hunger and Distress, if there had been no Body to have taken them Prisoners; for having no Boat to supply them with Necessaries, their Ship fast a-ground upon a barren and uninhabited Island, and no way to be supply'd, they were themselves in the utmost Despair, and I think

it was one of the kindest Things that could be done for them, to bring them off, and hang them out of the way.

Their foolish Articles were as follows, (*viz.*)

I. THAT every Man shall obey his Commander in all Respects, as if the Ship was his own, and we under Monthly Pay.

II. THAT no Man shall give or dispose of the Ship's Provisions, whereby may be given Reason of Suspicion that every one hath not an equal Share.

III. THAT no Man shall open or declare to any Person or Persons what we are, or what Design we are upon; the Offender shall be punish'd with Death upon the spot.

IV. THAT no Man shall go on Shore till the Ship is off the Ground and in readiness to put to Sea.

V. THAT every Man shall keep his Watch Night and Day, and precisely at the Hour of Eight leave off Gaming and Drinking, every one repair to their respective Stations.

VI. WHOEVER Offends shall be punish'd with Death, or otherwise, as we shall find proper for our Interest.

N.B. This Draft of Articles seems to be imperfect, and as it were only begun to be made, for that there were several others intended to be added, but it was suppos'd that their Affairs growing desperate, their Long-Boat gone, and the Boatswain and Boat's Crew, in the Pinnace or smaller Boat gone also, and made Prisoners, there was no more need of Articles, nor would any-Body be bound by them if they were made; so the farther making of Orders and Articles was let alone.

THESE that were made were written with *Gow's* own Hand, and 'tis suppos'd that the rest would have been done so too, and then he would have taken care to have

them executed; but he soon found there was no Occasion of them, and I make no Question but all their other Papers and Articles of any kind were destroy'd.

BEING now all secur'd and in Custody in the most proper Places in the Island, Mr *Fea* took care to give Notice to the proper Officers in the Country, and by them to the Government at *Edenburgh*, in order to get help for the carrying them to *England*. The Distance being so great, this took up some Time, for the Government at *Edenburgh* being not immediately concern'd in it, but rather the Court of Admiralty of *Great Britain*, Expresses were dispatch'd from thence to *London*, that his Majesty's Pleasure might be known; in return to which, Orders were dispatch'd into *Scotland* to have them immediately sent up to *England*, with as much Expedition as the Case would admit; and accordingly they were brought up by Land to *Edenburgh* first, and from thence being put on Board the *Greyhound* Frigate, they were brought by Sea to *England*.

THIS necessarily took up a great deal of Time, so that had they been wise enough to improve the Hours that were left, they had almost half a year's time to prepare themselves for Death; tho' they cruelly deny'd the poor Mate a few Moments to commend his Soul to God's Mercy, even after he was half Murther'd before: I say, they had almost half a year, for they were most of them in Custody the latter end of *January*, and they were not Executed till the 11th of *June*.

THE *Greyhound* arriv'd in the River the 26th, of *March*, and the next day came to an Anchor at *Woolwich*, and the Pyrates being put into Boats appointed to receive them, with a strong Guard to attend them, were brought on

shore the 30th, convey'd to the *Marshalsea* Prison in *Southwark*, where they were deliver'd to the Keeper of the said Prison, and were laid in Irons, and therethey had the Mortification to meet their Lieutenant *Williams*, who was brought home by the *Argyle* Man of War from *Lisbon*, and had been committed to the same Prison for a very few days.

INDEED, as it was a Mortification to them, so it was more to him; for tho' he might be secretly pleas'd that those who had so Cruelly, *as he call'd* it, put him into the Hands of Justice by the sending him to *Lisbon*, were brought into the same Circumstances with himself, yet, on the other hand, it could not but be a terrible Mortification to him that here now were sufficient Witnesses found to prove his Crimes upon him, which were not so easie to be had before.

BEING thus laid fast, it remain'd to proceed against them in due form, and this took up some longer time still.

ON *Friday*, the 2nd of *April*, they were all carried to *Doctors-Commons*, where, the proper Judges being present, they were examin'd, by which Examination due Measures were taken for the farther Proceedings; for as they were not equally Guilty, so it was needful to determine who it was proper to bring to an immediate Tryal, and who being less Guilty, were more proper Objects of the Governments Clemency, as being under force and fear, and consequently necessitated to Act as they did; and also who it might be proper to single out as Evidence against the rest; after being thus Examin'd, they were remanded to the *Marshalsea*.

ON *Saturday*, the 8th of *May*, the five who were appointed for Evidence against the rest, and whose Names

are particularly set down in its Place, were sent from the *Marshalsea* Prison in *Newgate*, in order to give their Informations.

BEING thus brought up to *London*, and committed to the *Marshalsea* Prison, and the Government being fully inform'd what black uncommon Offenders they were, it was thought proper to bring them to speedy Justice.

IN order to this, some of them, as is said, who were less Criminal than the rest, and who apparently had been forc'd into their Service, were formed out, and being examin'd, and giving first an Account of themselves and then of the whole Fraternity, it was thought fit to make use of their Evidence for the more clear detecting and convincing of the rest. These were *George Dobson*, *John Phinnes*, *Timothy Murphy*, *William Booth*.

THESE were the principal evidence, and were indeed more than sufficient; for they so exactly agreed in their evidence, and the prisoners (pirates) said so little in their defence, that there was no room for the jury to question their guilt, or to doubt the truth of any part of the account given in.

ROBERT READ was a young man (mentioned above) who escap'd from the Boat in the *Orkneys*, and getting a Horse at a Farmer's House, was convey'd to *Kirkwall*, the chief Town of the said *Orkneys*, where he surrendered himself: Nevertheless he was brought up with the rest as a Prisoner, nor was he made use of as Evidence, but was try'd upon most, if not all, the Indictments with the rest. But *Dobson*, one of the Witnesses, did him the Justice to testify that he was forc'd into their Service, as others were, for fear of having their Throats cut, as others had been serv'd before their Faces; and that, in particular, he

was not present at, or concern'd in, any of the Murthers for which the rest were Indicted; upon which Evidence he was Acquitted by the Jury.

Also he brought one *Archibald Sutor*, the Man of the House, said above to be a Farm-House, whither the said *Read* made his Escape in the *Orkneys*, who testified that he did so Escape to him, and that he begg'd him to procure him a Horse to ride off to *Kirkwall*, which he did, and that there he surrender'd himself. Also he testified that *Read* gave him (*Sutor*) a full Account of the Ship, and of the Pirates that were in her, and what they were; and he (*Sutor*) discover'd it all to the Collector of the Customs; by which means the Country was alarm'd: And he added, that it was by this Man's means that all the Prisoners were apprehended; (tho' that was a little too much too) for 'tis plain it was by the Vigilance and Courage of Mr *Fea* chiefly: They were reduc'd to such Distress as oblig'd them to surrender.

HOWEVER, it was true that *Read's* Escape did allarm the Country, and that he merited very well of the Publick for the timely Discovery he made: So he came off clear, as indeed it was but Just; for he was not only forc'd to serve them (as above) but as *Dobson* testified for him, he had often express'd his Uneasiness, as being oblig'd to act with them, and that he wish'd he cou'd get away; and that he was Sincere in those Wishes, as appear'd in that he took the first Opportunity he could get to put it in Practice.

N.B. This *Dobson* was one of the ten Men who ran away with the Pirates' Long-Boat from the *Orkneys*, and who were afterwards made Prisoners in the *Firth of Leigh* and carried to *Edinburgh*.

Gow was now a Prisoner among the rest in the *Mar-shalsea*; his Behaviour there was Sullen and Reserv'd rather than Penitent: It had been hinted to him by Mr *Fea*, as others, that he should endeavour, by his Behaviour, to make himself as Evidence against others, and to merit his Life by a ready Submission, and obliging others to do the like. But *Gow* was no Fool, and he easily saw there were too many gone before who had provided for their own Safety at his Expence. And besides that, he knew himself too deeply guilty of Cruelty and Murther to be excepted by the public Justice as an Evidence, especially where so many other less Criminals were to be had. This, I say, made him, and with good Reason too, give over any Thoughts of Escaping by such means as that: And perhaps seeing so plainly that there was no Room for it, might be the Reason why he seemed to reject the Offer; otherwise he was not a Person, of such nice Honour as that we should suppose he would not have secur'd his own Life at the Expence of his Comrades.

BUT, as I say, *Gow* was no Fool. So he seem'd to give over all Thought of Life, from the first time he came to *England*; not that he shew'd any Tokens of his Repentance, or any Sense of his Condition, suitable to what was before him; But continuing (as above) Sullen and reserv'd, even to the very time he was brought to the Bar: When he came there, he could not be try'd with the rest; for the Arraignment being made in the usual Form, he refused to Plead. The Court used all the Arguments which Humanity Dictates in such Cases, to prevail on him to come into the ordinary Course of other People in like Government, laying before him the Sentence of the Law in such Cases, namely, that he must be press'd to Death, the only

torturing Execution which remains in our Law, which, however, they were oblig'd to Inflict.

BUT he continued Inflexible, and carry'd on his Obstinacy to such a height, as to receive the Sentence in Form, as usual in such Cases, the Execution being appointed to be done the next Morning, and he was carry'd back to *Newgate* in order to it: But whether he was prevail'd with by Argument, and the Reasons of those about him, or whether the Apparatus for the Execution and the manner of the Death he was to dye terrified him, we cannot say; but the next Morning he yielded, and petitioned to be allow'd to Plead, and be admitted to be try'd in the ordinary Way; which being granted, he was brought to the Bar by himself, and pleaded, being arraign'd again upon the same Indictment, upon which he had been senenc'd as a Mute, and was found Guilty.

WILLIAMS, the Lieutenant, who, as has been said, was put on Board a *Bristol* Ship, with Orders to deliver him on Board the first *English* Man of War they should meet with; comes, of course, to have the rest of his History made up in this Place.

THE Captain of the *Bristol* Ship, tho' he receiv'd his Orders from the Crew of Pirates and Rogues, whose Instructions he was not oblig'd to follow, and whose Accusation of *Williams*, they were not oblig'd to give credit to, yet punctually obey'd the Order and put him on Board the *Argyle* Captain *Bowler*, then lying in the Port of *Lisbon*, and bound for *England*, who, as they took him in Irons, kept him so, and brought him to *England* in the same Condition.

BUT as the Pirates did not send any of their Company, nor indeed could they do it, along with him, to be Evi-

dence against him; and the Men who went out of the Pirate Ship on Board a *Bristol* Ship being till then kept as Prisoners on Board the Pirate Ship, and perhaps could not have said enough, or given particular Evidence sufficient to convict him in a Court of Justice, Providence supply'd the Want, by bringing the whole Crew to the same Place (for *Williams* was in the *Marshalsea* Prison before them), and by that means furnishing sufficient Evidence against *Williams* also, so that they were all try'd together.

IN *Williams's* Case the Evidence was as particular as in *Gow's*; and *Dobson* and the others swore positively, that *Williams* boasted that after *Macaulay* had cut the Super Cargo's throat imperfectly, he (*Williams*) did his Business, that is to say, murdered him; and added, that he would not give him Time to say his Prayers, but shot him thro' the Head: *Phinnes* and *Timothy Murphy* testifying the same. And to show the bloody Disposition of this Wretch, *William Booth* testified that *Williams* propos'd afterwards to the Company, that if they took any more Ships, they should not incumber themselves with the Men, having already so many Prisoners, that in Case of a Fight they should take them and tye them back to back, and throw them all over board into the Sea.

It should not be omitted here also in the Case of *Gow* himself, that as I have observ'd in the Introduction, that *Gow* had long meditated the kind of Villainy which he now put in Practice, and that it was his Resolution to turn Pyrate the first Opportunity he should get, whatever Voyage he undertook, and that I observ'd he had intended it on Board a Ship in which he came home from *Lisbon*, but fail'd only for want of making a sufficient Party; so this Resolution of his, is Confirm'd by the Testimony and

Confession of *James Belvin*, one of his fellow Criminals, who upon the Tryal declar'd that he knew that *Gow* (and he added the Crew of the *George Galley*) had a Design to turn Pyrates from the beginning, and added, that he discover'd it to *George Dobson* in *Amsterdam*, before the Ship went out to sea; for the Confirmation of this, *Dobson* was call'd up again, after he had given his Evidence upon the Tryals, and being confronted with *Belvin*, he did acknowledge that *Belvin* had said so, and that in particular he had said, the Boatswain and several Others had such a Design to murder the Master and some Others, and run away with the Ship; and being ask'd what was the Reason why he did not immediately discover it to the Master Captain *Ferneau*; he answer'd, that he heard him (*Belvin*) tell the Mate of it, and that the Mate told the Captain of it; but that the Captain made light of it; but that tho' he was persuaded not to let the Boatswain go along with them, yet the Captain said, he fear'd them not, and would still take him; but that the Boatswain finding himself Discover'd, refus'd to go; upon which *Gow* was named for Boatswain, but was made second Mate, and then *Belvin* was made Boatswain; and had he been as Honest afterward as before whereas, on the contrary, he was as forward and active as any of them, except that he was not in the first secret, nor in the Murthers, he might have escap'd what afterwards became so justly his Due; But as they Acted together, Justice requir'd they should Suffer, and accordingly *Gow* and *Williams*, *Belvin*, *Melvin*, *Winter*, *Peterson*, *Rollson*, *Mackawley*, receiv'd the Reward of their Cruelty and Blood at the Gallows, being all Executed together the 11th of *June*.

N.B.—*Gow*, as if Providence had directed that he

should be twice Hang'd, his Crimes being of a Two-fold nature, and both Capital; soon he was turn'd off, fell down from the Gibbet, the Rope breaking by the Weight of some that pull'd his Legs to put him out of Pain. He was still alive and sensible, tho' he had Hung four Minutes, and able to go up the Ladder the second Time, which he did with very little Concern, and was Hang'd again; and since that a third Time (*viz.*) in Chains over-against *Greenwich*, as *Williams* is over against *Blackwall*.

FINIS

The True & Genuine Account
of the Life and Actions of the late
JONATHAN WILD

Not made up of *Fiction* and *Fable*,
but taken from his Own Mouth
and collected from PAPERS
of his Own Writing.

THE PREFACE

THE several absurd and ridiculous Accounts which have been Publish'd, notwithstanding early and seasonable Caution given, of the Life and Conduct of this famous, or if you please infamous Creature, Jonathan Wild, make a short Preface to this Account absolutely necessary.

IT is something strange, that a Man's Life should be made a kind of a Romance before his Face, and while he was upon the Spot to contradict it; or, that the World should be so fond of a formal Chimney-corner Tale, that they had rather a Story should be made merry than true.

THE Author of this short but exact Account of Mr. Wild assures the World, that the greatest Part of all that has hitherto appeared of this Kind, has been evidently invented and framed out of the Heads of the scribbling Authors, meerly to get a Penny, without regard to Truth or Fact, or even to Probability, or without making any Conscience of their imposing on the Credulous World.

NAY, so little Ground has there been for them, that except there was such a Man as Jonathan Wild, that he was born at Wolverhampton, liv'd in the Old-Bayley, was call'd a Thief-Catcher, and was Hang'd at Tyburn, there is not one Story printed of him that can be call'd Truth, or that is not mingled up with so much Falshood and Fable as to smother and drown that little Truth which is at the bottom of it.

THE following Tract does not indeed make a Jest of his Story as they do, or present his History, which indeed is a Tragedy of itself, in a stile of Mockery and ridicule, but in a Method agreeable to the Fact. They that had rather have a Falshood to laugh at, than a true Account of Things to inform them, had best buy the Fiction, and leave the History to those who know how to distinguish Good from Evil.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Undertaker[s] of this Work having easily foreseen that the Story of this eminent Criminal would be acceptable to the World, resolv'd sometime ago to publish it, but knowing at the same time it would be attempted over and over by our Hackney Grub-street Writers, upon the old Pick-pocket Principle of Publishing any Thing to get a Penny; they therefore took care not only to furnish themselves with authentic, and full vouchers for the Truth of what they have to say, but also to have the Account of him be very particular, and such as may answer their Title.

UPON the Assurance of their being thus provided, not only to give a true, but also a full and compleat Account of him, they took care to give the World an early and timely Notice that such a Work was preparing for the Press, in order to prevent People's being impos'd upon; and to that purpose they advertis'd this Work in several Publick Prints; and they are satisfy'd that as on one Hand, it has prepared the World to expect this Account, so it will fully answer their expectation now it appears.

THEY have not satisfy'd themselves in their Enquiries, to take Things upon the Credit of Common Fame, which (generally speaking) is a Common Something; nor have they supplied, by Invention, the Particulars of what wanted such Helps. The Life of this unhappy Wretch is too full of Incidents, and that of an uncommon Nature, to stand in Need of any such Helps; and we are so far from wanting Matter to fill up this Tract, and make the Story out, that on the contrary, we are forc'd to abridge and contract some of the most considerable Passages of his Life, that we may bring it all into as narrow a Compass as we can.

THE Life of Jonathan Wild is a perfectly new Scene: as his Conduct has been Inimitable, so his Imployment has been singular to him, and is like to be so, for as it began, so it is like to dye with him; no Man among the most daring of the Clan being, we believe, so hardy as to venture to take it up after him.

EVERY Step he took was Criminal, and the very Actions which he did with the greatest openness and an avowed Profess'd Allowance, merited the Gallows even by the very Letter; but pray Note, when we say Allowance, we mean his own Allowance, for no other Power or Person could allow him in it.

IT is true, he had an inimitable Boldness in his Behaviour and by detecting some Criminals, he assumed a kind of Power to protect others, only the difference lay here, namely, that he did the first Publickly, and the last Privately; so that in a Word; he served the Publick in the first, and abused the Publick in the second, and was only deceived in this, that he thought his being Useful in the first, would protect him in being Criminal in the last; but here he was, we say Mistaken, and fell into a Snare which all his pretended Merit could not deliver him from.

TAKE him as a Man, only he had a kind of brutal Courage which fitted him to be an Instrument in attacking some of the most desperate of the several Gangs of Rogues he had to do with. But as this Courage also serv'd to make him Audacious in the other wicked Things he undertook, he was rather Bold than courageous, and might be call'd Impudent, but we cannot say he was Brave, as appeared in a more particular manner in his stupid and confus'd Behaviour, during his lying in Newgate, and at his Execution, of which in its Place.

WE have the Advantage in this Account to come at the

particular of his Story from unquestioned Authority, for as he was sensible wrong Accounts would be publish'd of him, he was not backward to give Materials from his own Mouth which no Body can contradict; and others fully conversant with him, having given the same Stories or Accounts of the same Facts, we have the Satisfaction to see them agree fully together, and thereby be assured of the Truth of both; for in such Cases there could be no Combination to deceive us.

NOT that it is possible to obtain a full Account of all the particular Villainies of Jonathan Wild, during a series of sixteen Years, in which he reign'd in all his Wickedness with such Success, as no Age can produce the like. 'Tis enough if we give you a general View of his Life, or a Scheme of his Practice, illustrated by Examples; which Examples likewise might be farther set forth by more Examples and by Stories full of an infinite variety, which if collected together, would make up a large Volume in Folio, and yet leave many of them unrelated.

IT is true, as we shall take Notice in its Place, that the World does not charge Jonathan with being himself actually a Highwayman or Robber; or that when any of the Gangs of Prancers (as they are call'd in the Newgate Cant) went out upon the Grand Design, he ever went with them, and we are assur'd he did not: He knew the Trade too well, to put his Life into such a Hazard; he knew how common a Bite it was among such People to save their own Lives at the Expense of their companions; but he was too Cunning for that. And he had likewise a so much better Trade in Hand, by which he was sure to make a Prey both of the Persons Robb'd, and of the Rogues that robb'd them; that he would have been worse than Lunatick, if he had been drawn in to be a Party.

THE Part he acted in the Fact for which he suffer'd, was more than he ordinarily did, or than we ever find he ventur'd

to do before, for here he was both Thief and Thief-Catcher too, which he did not usually venture. But a secret Infatuation was now upon him, and Heaven who had determined his Fate, no doubt left him to Expose himself more in this one Action, than he had done in many Years before, and by this he Fell.

It is said, that if this had not fix'd him, there were other Facts charg'd which would effectually have done; to that we shall say nothing, because those others have not been try'd. 'Tis enough, Jonathan dy'd not in his own way of Thief-Catching, but by going out of his Road and taking a Share in the Robbery as he did after in the Reward: And here he was taken in his own Snare, for the very Thieves he employ'd, were the Witnesses that Hang'd him. But we say no more of that, till we come to the Story itself. We now proceed to the particular Account of his Life.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND Eminent Actions, &c.

JONATHAN WILD the wretched Subject of this History, was born at *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire*; and to do Justice to his Original, his Parents, tho' mean, had the repute of Honest and Industrious People, his Father being a *Carpenter*, and his Mother sold *Herbs* and *Fruit* in the Market of *Wolverhampton*: They had three Sons, and two Daughters; the two Daughters are yet living and Married to honest Tradesmen in *Wolverhampton*, one to a *Comb-Maker*, and the other a *Buckle-Maker*, and whose Characters we do not hear are any way Blemish'd; but the Sons have all a different Fame.

THE Brothers I say were three in Number, *Jonathan*, *John* and *Andrew*: *John* was a publick Officer in the Town where they Liv'd, being the Cryer of *Wolverhampton*; but stepping out of his Employment in the time of the late *Preston* Rebellion, and making himself popular by Heading and appearing among the Rabble, for pulling down the Meeting-House at *Wolverhampton*; he was taken up for a Rioter, brought to *L O N D O N*, and put into Custody of a Messenger, where he continued some time, till he was sent down again in Custody to *Stafford*, to be try'd at the Assizes held there for the County: There he was

Convicted, and receiv'd Sentence to be publickly Whipt, and afterwards to lye in Prison for a certain Time, which Sentence was accordingly Executed: But the same *John* being afterwards at Liberty, the time of his Imprisonment being expir'd, Dyed about four Years ago, as did also his Mother much about the same Time, that is to say, within a Month of One another.

THE younger Brother *Andrew* being by Trade a *Birmingham* Ware-man, or in particular a *Buckle-Maker*; left his own Country and came up to *London*; what Trade he has driven here we shall not meddle with, the Man being yet alive; and as we are not writing his Story, but that of his elder Brother, so we are not willing to enter into any thing that may be prejudicial to particular Persons on any Account whatever; 'tis enough to say, that we hear he is at this Time a Prisoner in the *Poultry-Compter* for Debt; so that it seems, all the three Brothers have had some acquaintance with the inside of a Goal, tho' on different Accounts.

JONATHAN as I have said, was the eldest Brother, he was born about the year 1683, being at the time of his Execution, about two and forty years of Age, of which something more than thirteen years has been spent in the most exquisite Villainies, of which we shall give some Account in this Work.

His Education was suitable to his Father's Circumstances, being taught in the Free-School of *Wolverhampton*, to read and write, and then his Father put him Apprentice to a *Birmingham* Man, or as they call them there, a Hardware Man, and particularly a *Buckle Maker*.

AUTHORS are not agreed in the Name of his Master, and as it is not Material, we also let it pass without any

Notice; having serv'd his Time out, or as some say but part of it, he got into the Service of one Counsellor *Daniel of Staffordshire*, and came up with him to *London* as his servant; this was about the year 1704. But whether he did not please his Master, or that he took ill Courses so early, we have not enquir'd; but that Counsellor dismissing him, he went home again to *Wolverhampton*, and very honestly work'd for some time at his Trade.

BUT his Thoughts, *as he said*, being above his Trade, tho' at that time had he no Taste of the Life he afterwards led, yet he grew uneasie in the Country, was sick of his Work, and in short, after a few Years came away to *London*, to see if he could get into any Business there.

HERE he found but little Encouragement, and tho' he Work'd at his Trade, yet what he could get at his day Labour, but ill serv'd to maintain him, whose Temper even then, was not much given to Frugality, which with his being not inclin'd to sit very close to his Work neither, made him run out pretty much, till at length it was his Misfortune to be Arrested for Debt, and carried to *Wood-street Compter*.

HERE he suffer'd great hardship, having no Friends to help him out, or Money to maintain him within, so that he was on the Common-side, and far'd as other People in those Circumstances do fare, that is to say, very hard.

HOWEVER, after having lain a long time there, he at length having behaved himself well enough among the Prisoners, got so much Favour with the Keepers, that he got *the Liberty of the Gate*, as they call it.

HIS Business here was chiefly to attend in the Night, in Case any Prisoners were brought in for Disorders in the Street; to wait upon them, and guard them with the

Officers to any Justice of the Peace, and so back again if they were Committed; and in this, he Discharg'd himself to Satisfaction, so that he was at length trusted to go of Errands, and the like Liberties to get a Penny.

AMONG the great variety of Night-walking Offenders which came into his Custody, at length there comes in one *Mary Milliner*, who after having been carried before a Justice, might be remanded to the *Compter* for the present; but being a Jade of some Fame, she soon found her way out again, for we do not find she was reckoned to be a Prisoner there at all.

WHETHER it was that she was frequently brought in there in her Night Rambles, and might receive some Favours from him on that Occasion, it being much in his way to favour such as she was, he being as a kind of Keeper set over them; or whether they Contracted a Friendship at first sight, or what other incident brought it about I know not; but Mr. *Wild* not only became acquainted with her, but a more than common Intimacy soon grew between them; insomuch, that she began to teach him a great many New, and to him unknown Ways of getting Money, and brought him into her own Gang, whether of Thieves or Whores, or of both, is not much Material.

By the Advantage of this new Correspondence Mr. *Wild* soon clear'd himself of his Imprisonment, the Debt for which he was thrust into the *Compter* being but small; and tho' he had a Wife at that time living at *Wolverhampton*, and had a Son by her, which Son is still living, as we shall hear presently; and tho' this new Favourite he had pitch'd upon, had also a Husband then living, a *Waterman* by his Profession; yet they pretended to be Married and liv'd together some time as Man and Wife, and this

we are to call his second Wife, for he had six of them in all. This Mrs. *Milliner* as I am inform'd is still living, so that Mr. *Wild* has left several Widows behind him at his *Exit*, whether they go by his Name or not, that he himself could not inform us.

DURING his Intimacy with this Mrs. *Milliner*, and by her means he grew Acquainted with some other of the wicked ways of Living which, it seems she practis'd besides that of Whoring: And first it seems she carried him out with her upon the *T W A N G*: This is One of the Cant Words for those who attend upon the Night-walking Ladies in their Progress, and who keep at a distance, that if the Lady they are employ'd by, happens to fall into any Broil, they may come in timely to her Assistance, and making a Noise and a Quarrel, if possible fall a Fighting, and so give her an Opportunity to walk off, which *Jonathan* often practis'd with good Success.

He improv'd his time during his Acquaintance with this *Mary Milliner* to a very great Degree, for she brought him acquainted with several Gangs, or Societies of the Sharping and Thieving World, in so much, that in a little time he knew all their several Employments, and the several Parts they Acted, their Haunts and their Walks, how they perform'd, and how they manag'd their Effects when they had met with Success: And as he seem'd to set up for a Director to them, under the Government of that Dextrous Lady his first Instructor, so he found ways to make himself as useful to them as if he had gone Abroad with them, which however he always avoided: Nor, indeed, had he any occasion to run a Hazard himself, he finding himself as much a gainer in the Part he Acted, as if he had shar'd in the Adventure: So that, in a Word, He

had the Profit without the Danger; and politically kept himself from the Last, on pretence of his encreasing the First, by his Art in managing for them.

Thus without being a Thief or a Receiver, he brought a Gain to himself, and his Business went on Prosperously.

How he and his Lady parted after this, is a Story, which has nothing Extraordinary in it; 'tis enough to say, that *Jonathan* became such a Proficient in his Business, that he stood no longer in need of her Instructions; and as she had a Trade of her own, which he began to be sick of assisting her in, they made no difficulty of separating, with as little Ceremony as they came together.

Tho' I do not find but that they kept a kind of remote Correspondence after they were separated, as to Cohabitation; and the other Trade was carried on with mutual Assistance, as well as to mutual Advantage, for some time. And here it is very Remarkable, That tho' during this Intercourse of Mr. *Wild* among these loose People (as above) many of them dayly fell into the Hand of Justice, and some went off the Stage, the High Road, (as they call it) that is to say, by the Gallows; yet none of them had any thing to say to *Jonathan*, or to his She Friend, Mrs. *Milliner*: but these always did their Business so Clean, with such Subtilty, and so much to the Advantage of the Criminals, that it was of no Use to them to charge him or her with any Thing.

In this dextrous way of Managing, it came frequently in his way, where any Thing of Value was Stolen, to make it worth more Money, both to himself and to the Thief that had Stolen it, by his private Ways; which at the same time the Criminal knew nothing of. The Case was thus.

It is not to be doubted, that when a Robbery was com-

mitted, the Thieves sometimes run as much Hazard in securing what they had got, as they did in the getting of it, and often times much more; nay, they were very often discovered and detected in their Attempts, to turn what they had got into Money, or to sell and dispose of it, when they had escaped the Danger of the Fact it self, and come off Clean.

THERE was a Time indeed, when there were Brokers and Receivers, whose Business it was to take every Thing off of their Hands as soon as they had gotten it; and a young Shop-lifter or House-breaker had no sooner got a Booty, but he knew where to go and carry it in, as to a Warehouse or Repository; where he was sure to have Money for it, and that something near the Value of it too; and this was a great Encouragement to the Light-finger'd Gang: So that when it was a Misfortune of a Family or Person to lose any Goods, they were effectually lost, and seldom or never were they heard of any more.

BUT there being an Act past in the Reign of the late King *William*, making it Felony to buy or receive any Stolen Goods, knowing them to be Stolen; and one or two bold People having suffered on that very Account; the Receiving Trade was spoil'd all at once. And when the poor Adventurer had, at the hazard of his Neck, gotten any Purchase, he must run all that Hazard over again to turn it into Money.

IT is true, after sometime, the Temptation being strong, and the Profits great, there were Persons frequently found again that did help the Adventurers and took of their goods; but then the Thief got so small a Share, that the Encouragement was very small; and had it continued so, the Thieving Trade might (for ought I know) have been

in danger of being lost: For the Receivers running so extreme a Hazard, they got all the Profit; and the poor Lifter or House-breaker was glad to part with Things of the greatest Value for a Trifle.

BUT *Jonathan* and his Director, soon found out a Way to encourage the Trade again, and to make it worth while as they call'd it, and the first Method was this: When a Purchase was made, *Jonathan* enquir'd first where it was gotten, what House had been robb'd, or, who had lost the Goods; and having learn'd that, his next Business was to have the Goods deposited in proper Places, always avoiding the receiving them himself, or bringing himself into any Jeopardy as to the Law.

THEN he found out proper Instruments to employ to go to the Persons, who had been robb'd, and tell them, that if they could describe what they had lost, they believ'd they could help them to them again, for that there was a parcel of stolen Goods stopt by an honest Broker, to whom they were offered to be sold, and if their Goods were among them they might have them again for a small matter of Expence.

THE People who had been robb'd, it may be suppos'd were always willing enough to hear of their Goods again, and very thankful to the Discoverer, and so readily gave an Account of the Things they had lost, with such proper Descriptions of them as were needful; The next Day they should be told; there was such or such Part of their Goods stopt among other Goods, which it was supposed were stolen from other People, and so upon Assurance given on both Sides to make no Enquiry into the particular Circumstances of stopping the Goods, and a Consideration to the Person who went between, for helping the Loser to

his Goods again, the Things were restor'd, and the Person receiv'd abundance of Thanks and Acknowledgments for their Honesty and Kindness; and this part always fell to *Jonathan*, or his Mistress *Milliner*, or perhaps both, who always pretended they got nothing for their Pains but the Satisfaction of having help'd the People to recover their own again, which was taken by a Company of Rogues; professing their Sorrow that they had not had the good Luck at the same time to detect the Rogues that took them, and bring them to the Punishment they deserv'd.

ON the other hand, they acted as safe a Part with the Thief also, for rating and reproving the Rogue for his Villany, they would pretend to bring them to an honest Restoring the Goods again, taking a reasonable Consideration for their Honesty, and so bring them to lodge them in such Place as should be directed; and sometimes, as I have been told, he has officiously caused the Thief, or Thieves, to be taken with the Goods upon them, when he has not been able to bring them to comply, and so has made himself both Thief and Chapman, as the Proverb says; getting a Reward for the Discovery, and bringing the poor Wretch to the Gallows too, and this only because he could not make his Market of him to his Mind; but I must be so just to *Jonathan* too, as to say he did not acknowledge this, so that this Part was not had from his own Mouth, yet perhaps it may not be the less true, nor do I think it would be very hard to prove the Fact.

As to the other Part, he was never backward to own that it was his early Practice, and boasted of it as doing a piece of Service which none but himself could manage, and that he thereby assisted honest People in the recovery

of their own; how far he acted honestly in the doing it, supposing he had no hand in the Robbery itself, I leave to the Casuists to determine; no Question, in their *Newgate* Divinity, they might think it a mighty honest way of getting Money, for as to the Encouragement it was to the Robbery itself, while the Thief knew before hand how to come off of the Guilt and get Money in his Pocket, that they gave their Thoughts no trouble about.

THIS Trade I found by his own Discourse he carry'd on a great while, and had he gone no farther, I question whether it had been in any Man's Power to have hurt him to the last; nay, or that even the Laws would have reach'd his Life, notwithstanding the late Act which seem'd to be calculated on purpose to put a stop to his Trade: But he knew no Bounds to his Gain, and therefore knew no Restraint of Laws, or at least considered of none, till he involved himself in a mass of Crimes, out of which it was impossible he should recover.

BUT to return to the first Part of this unjust Commerce, which, whatever Gloss he might put upon it, was no other than an encouraging Rogues to rob and plunder, and then demanding Money for them to bring back what they had stolen, out of which he secur'd always a Share for himself. This Practice of giving People notice of their Goods after they were robb'd becoming pretty Publick, and especially several People recovering their lost Goods upon the easie Conditions of giving a Gratuity to the Discoverer, being known, it introduced another weak foolish Practice as a Consequence, namely, that after this, when any Person was robb'd, they always publish'd the Particulars of their lost Goods, with the Promise of a Reward to those who should discover them: It [is] reason-

able indeed to suppose that this might occasion a Discovery one way or other, either by the Thieves betraying one another, or else by directing the Buyers of Goods, who were honestly inclin'd, to stop such Goods if they came to be offered, and hence it was a usual Practice in such Advertisements to add, that if such Goods were offered to be sold or pawn'd, they were desir'd to stop both the Goods and the Persons, and give notice so and so, as directed.

BUT this was every Way an ineffectual Method, and indeed the latter part was particularly so, for, indeed it was neither more or less than giving a Caution to the Thief, not to venture to offer any thing he had gotten to Sale, for he should be sure to be stop't as well as the Goods; and indeed it was strange, that the People who publish'd such Advertisements should not foresee the making such a Publication would be an effectual shutting the Door against the Discovery they designed it for, and was therefore nothing but a throwing good Money after bad.

ON the other hand, neither was the advertizing or Publishing their Loss any real Service, or of any use to the Loser, for that the only Person who could assist in the Recovery of the Goods, was quite out of the Question, having no need of the Information, but coming by his Intelligence another Way, *viz.* from the Thief himself; and that if there had been no such Information, I mean by publick Print, he would, as usual, have been sure to have sent an Account to the Loser, and have come to a Treaty with him another Way; for the Thief giving an Account to Mr. *Jonathan Wild* where the Robbery was committed, and whose Goods they were, the cunning Artist always made Application to the Loser first; and if it was asked, how they come to know who the Goods were taken

from? it was always answer'd, That it was meerly Providential; being, by meer Accident, at a Tavern, or at a Friend's House in the Neighbourhood, they heard that such a Gentleman had his house broken open, and such and such Goods Stolen, and the like.

THIS was so plausible a Story, and carry'd so much an appearance of Truth with it, that it left Room for no Enquiry: But on the other hand, if the People, to whom the Discovery was made, were too Inquisitive, the Party sent, presently seem'd to take it Ill, and reply'd, Sir, I come to serve you, if you think to make any Discovery by me, of the Thieves that robb'd you, I must tell you, that you are Mistaken: I converse with no such Cattle; I can give a very good Account of my self to you, or any Body else: I only come to tell you that some Goods, being offer'd to Sale by a suspected Hand; the Person to whom they were offer'd, had the Honesty to stop them, and the Goodness to give you some Notice of it, that you may see whether your Goods are among them or not; if this is not enough to oblige you, I have done. If you have any thing to say to me, or think to talk to me about the Thief or Thieves that robb'd you, I have no more to say to you, but to let you know, my Name is so and so; and I live in such a Place, if you have any thing to say to me, I am to be found, Sir, at any Time. And thus they take their leave in a Huff. And this never fails to bring the Enquirer to a better Temper; and either immediately, or soon after, to treat them with more Civility.

AND indeed the offer itself appears so Good, and the appearance so above Board, that not a Magistrate, or Justice of Peace, could find the least Flaw in it: Only enquire where the Goods are which are stop't, in which Case,

a Place and Person is named, and Goods produced when any one is sent to view them; but then the Party so Caviling at that offer, is sure to find none of his own Goods among them: And so being lost as it were in a Wood, he is perfectly amused, and has not one Word to say; for he neither sees his own Goods, nor knows that the other Goods are stolen, much less by who or from who: And thus by his being too Curious, or rather Impertinent, he loses his Goods entirely, and has no second Offer made him.

It must be confess'd, *Jonathan* play'd a sure Game in all this; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd at that he went on for so many Years without any Disaster: Nay, he acquir'd a strange, and, indeed, unusual Reputation, for a mighty honest Man, till his Success hardened him to put on a Face of publick Service in it; and for that Purpose, to profess an open and bare Correspondence among the Gangs of Thieves; by which his House became an Office of Intelligence for Enquiries of that Kind; as if all Stolen Goods had been deposited with him, in order to be restor'd.

BUT even this good Character of his, as it did not last long, so neither did it come all at once; and some tell us (how true it is, I will not affirm) that he was oblig'd to give up every now and then one or two of his Clients to the Gallows, to support his rising Reputation: In which cases, he never fail'd to proclaim his own Credit in bringing Offenders to Justice, and in delivering his Country from such dangerous People.

SOME have gone so far as to tell us the very Particulars which recommended any of the Gangs to him for a Sacrifice, and to divide them into Classes: For example, (1.)

such as having committed the Secret of a Fact to him, yet would not submit their Purchase to his Disposal; or (2.) would not accept reasonable Terms of Composition for restoring the Goods; or (3.) used any threatening Speeches against their Comrades: These he would immediately cause to be apprehended, he knowing both their Haunts, and where the Goods were deposited; and in such Cases, none so vigilant in the Discovery, or so eager in apprehending the Thief: And, generally speaking, he had his ways and means to bring in others of the Gang, to come in and Confess, that they might Impeach the Person so intended to be given up to Justice.

THIS, I say some have affirmed was his Practise, and assured me of the Truth of it; and that in these Cases, they add, That he managed with such Dexterity, that he always obtain'd publick Applause, as a mighty forward Man to detect the Villanies of those People, and bring Offenders to Justice.

How many he murdered in that manner, for as his End was only making a Sacrifice to his own Interest and Fame, I can call it no other: I say, how many they were, I cannot learn; but if it has been a Practise of so many Years standing, and so frequent in that Time, it cannot be doubted but the Number has been very considerable; nor does it a little contribute to the belief of the Thing, that the fraternity of Thieves in general were of late so exasperated against him; for tho' the Method was in it self wicked in him, yet it certainly brought a great many Criminals to just Condemnation, who would otherwise have liv'd to do much more Mischief than they did.

AND this occasion'd him doubtless to push on with the more Heat and Fury against those who stood in his way,

and where he could exert his Power without fear of being Touch'd himself, as particularly against the late *J. Sheppard*, *Blueskin*, and others, in the taking, re-taking, and prosecuting of whom, he was very Officious; while at the same time those audacious Criminals exclaim'd against him, as a Man who had [been] the first great Encourager of their Villanies, or at least had been instrumental to draw them into the very Practice it self; in Revenge for which, the said *Blueskin* bid fair for giving *Jonathan* his *quietus* in the very Face of Justice. But his Fate was to dye with more Infamy than he would have gone off with, if he had been sent off at that Time.

BUT to return to the History it self, what ever was at the bottom of his Designs, 'tis evident, he had two very clear Pretences for what he did; and on these two Pretences, it was that he supported the Credit of all his monstrous doings, and which indeed no Man but himself could have shown his Face in; 1. The Publick Good, in taking and apprehending the most open and notorious Criminals; and, 2. The procuring and restoring the Goods again to the right Owners, which had been stolen from them either by Fraud or Violence.

It was allowed, that neither of these could be done effectually, as *Jonathan* did them, but by an avowed Intimacy and Acquaintance among the Gangs and Societies of Thieves of every sort; and it was very hard to Imagine, that such an Intimacy could be maintain'd without being really a Party to their Management, and without a criminal Correspondence with them in the very Facts: And *Jonathan* was often told so, as well by those who believed him really guilty of such a criminal Correspondence, as those that did not.

BUT be that as it will, *Jonathan* himself always deny'd it, and insisted not only on his Innocence, but on his Merit: And that as he was indeed acquainted with the wicked ways made use of by all the several Classes of Thieves, and by consequence with many of them Personally, he only made use of that Acquaintance, to perswade and prevail upon them, when good Rewards were offer'd for it, to restore the Goods to the People who had lost them; placing himself so only in the middle, between the Loser and the Robber, as to capitulate for the latter, that if the Goods were return'd, the Loser would keep Promise, and give a Reward without Enquiry into the Particulars, or Persons, which would otherways put an end to all Restorings or Returnings of Stolen Goods for ever after.

THIS Part he insisted on as not only very Honest but very Serviceable; always insisting that whatever he took on either side, was no otherwise than as a Sollicitor takes his Fee, on Consideration from both Parties, for honestly putting an end to a Law-suit, and bringing the contending Parties to a friendly Accommodation; and had he gone no farther, I cannot say but he might be in the Right: But he acted in a more difficult Station, as placing himself in the middle, between the Law and the Offender, in a manner, commuting the Felony, and making a kind of Composition where the Fact was Punishable; which Punishment no Man had Power to anticipate, but the Hand above, which had Power also to remit the Penalty; namely, the supream Magistrate.

It must be allow'd to *Jonathan's* Fame, That as he steer'd among Rocks and dangerous Shoals, so he was a bold Pilot; he ventur'd in, and always got out in a manner

equally surprising; no Man ever did the like before him, and I dare say, no Man will attempt to do the like after him: Two Things indeed favour'd him; (1.) The willingness the Government always shows to have Criminals Detected, and brought to Justice. And, (2.) The Willingness of the People who had been Robb'd, and lost Things of considerable Value, to get their Goods again.

I. THE willingness of the Government to bring Rogues to their Reward, as well to Punish the Persons, as to discourage the Crime; all just Governments discover a Disposition to bring Offenders to Justice: And on this account, they not only receive and accept of Informations of the worst of Crimes, from the worst of Criminals, and Knowledge of the Offence from the Offenders themselves, but encourage such Criminals to come in and confess the Offence, and Discover their Accomplices, Promising as well Pardon for the Crimes, as a Reward for the Discovery, even to those who are Guilty. Now this willingness of the Government to detect Thieves, seem'd to be a kind of Authority, for *Jonathan* in his vigorous persuit of those who he thought fit to have Punished; tho' 'tis true, it was no Authority to him to draw poor Fellows first into the Crime, that he might afterwards obtain a Reward from the Government for Detecting and Apprehending them, and there indeed is the nice turn of *Jonathan's* Case, and which indeed has turn'd him off of the Stage at long run, as we shall see in its Place.

HE continued in the prosperous part of his Business about ten Year, without being so publicly taken notice of, or making himself so famous as he has been lately; and in this time it was not doubted but he got a large stock of Money, as well as of Credit; and had he contented him-

self with the same Cautious wary Way of Acting, which his first Instructor introduc'd him by, he might have grown Rich, and been safe too; but as he was of a pushing, enterprizing Nature, he could content himself with nothing but every thing he could get, nor could he act moderately in any part of his Conduct.

IN this time of his Prosperity, he Married a third Wife, (his two former, *if they were Wives*, being still living) her Name was *Elizabeth Man*, who tho' she was a Woman of the Town, was yet a very sensible and agreeable Person; and her short History is this: He lov'd her above all the other Women he had taken for Wives, and liv'd publickly with her, which he did not with any of the rest; he had no Children by her, but she was as he himself Confess'd, a true Penitent for all her former Life, and made him an excellent Wife; she expiated her former bad Life by a formal full Confession and Pennance, having on that Occasion been perswaded to turn *Roman Catholic*, and having receiv'd Absolution from her Confessor, liv'd a very sober Life for some Years, after which she Died, and was buried at St. *Pancrass in the Fields*; and *Jonathan* retain'd such an impression of the Sanctity and goodness of this Wife, that he never forgot it as long as he liv'd; and order'd himself to be Buried close to her when he Died, which his Friends took care to see perform'd, about Two of the Clock in the Morning.

HE had two Wives as they are call'd, besides this; and after her Death, who I understand, he did not live with, or not long at a Time, (*viz.*)

Sarah Parrin, alias *Gregstone*, who I understand is yet living.

Judith Nun by whom he had a Daughter, who is now

about ten Years of Age, and the Mother also still living.

BESIDES those five, he Married his Sixth and last Wife about seven Year ago, and with whom he liv'd to the Time of his Execution; her Maiden Name was *Mary Brown*, but when he took her to Wife, her Name was *Mary Dean*, being the Widow or Relict, of *Skull Dean*, a Man of the Trade who was executed for House-breaking, that is to say, for Burglary, about the Year 1716, or 1717: Some have tax'd *Jonathan* with being Instrumental to the Execution of this *Dean*, her said first Husband, that he might have the Liberty to make Court to his Wife, but he deny'd it positively, and [I] see no room for such a Reproach. I shall not reflect on his Memory, without good Evidence.

THE said *Skull Dean*, Mrs. *Wild's* first Husband, was a very dextrous Fellow in his Calling, and particularly expert in breaking into Houses: After he was condemn'd he got out of the Prison, on pretence of going to the Necessary-house, and being gotten quite clear for a little while, he made his way as far as *Guiltspur-street*, towards *Smithfield*, but being pursued by the Keepers, and having his Fetters on, he could not go long undiscovered, so they over-took him, and carryed him back to Prison.

THIS Mrs. *Dean* is his present apparent Relict; she has had the mortification to have had two Husbands, and both Hang'd; and was so affected with the Disaster of this last, that as *Jonathan* himself declar'd a few Days before his Execution, she had twice attempted to destroy herself, after she had the Account of his receiving Sentence of Death.

HE had no Children by this *Sixth* Venture; but we are

assur'd, she has been an extraordinary Wife to him on many Accounts, and particularly in the way of his Business, in which she could not be perfectly unacquainted, having had so extraordinary a Husband before; tho' we do not find that *Jonathan* himself wanted any Assistance, being by this Time perfect Master of his Trade.

IN the time of this Wife, or on the Marrying her, he removed from his former Lodging, (a House in the *Little Old Baily*, where his said Wife had liv'd before) and took a House in the *Great Old Baily*, and there he liv'd to the last; and in no mean Figure neither, for his Wife made a very good Appearance; and as to *Jonathan*, he carry'd on a very flourishing Business, as the Town well knows.

HE was now Master of his Trade, Poor and Rich flock'd to him: If any Thing was Lost, (whether by Negligence in the Owner, or Vigilance and Dexterity in the Thief) away we went to *Jonathan Wild*. Nay, Advertisements were Publish'd, directing the Finder of almost every Thing, to bring it to *Jonathan Wild*, who was eminently impower'd to take it, and give the Reward.

How Infatuate were the People of this Nation all this while? Did they consider, that at the very time that they treated this Person with such a Confidence, as if he had been appointed to the Trade? He had, perhaps, the very Goods in his keeping, waiting the Advertisement for the Reward; and that, perhaps, they had been Stolen with that very Intention?

It was not a little Difficult to give his Eminence his true Title; he was, indeed, call'd a Thief-Catcher, and on some extraordinary Occasions, he was so, as in the Case of *Sheppard*, *Blueskin*, and others: But this was no Explanation of his Business at all, for his Profits came in an-

other way, not in catching the Thief, but more properly, in Catching (that is, Biting) the Persons robb'd: As for the Thief, it was not his Business to catch him, as long as he would be subjected to his Rules; that is to say, as often as he had committed any robbery, to bring it to him, to be restor'd to the Owner.

IF the Correspondence he kept was large, If the Number of his Instruments was very great, his dexterity in Managing them, was indeed wonderful: And how cleverly he kept himself out of the reach of the Act for receiving Stolen Goods, mentioned above, is hardly to be Imagin'd; and yet we find he was never charg'd Home 'till now; notwithstanding so many Fellons who he exasperated to the last Degree, and made Desperate, by falling upon them to their Destruction.

IT is true, the young Generation of Thieves, who as we may say liv'd under him, were always kept low and poor, and could not subsist but by the Bounty of their Governour; and when they had a Booty of any Bulk, or Value, they knew not what to do with it, but to deposit it, and get some Money for the present Use, and then have a little more upon its being disposed the right way.

FOR the managing this Part, he had his particular Servants to take and receive, so that *Jonathan* receiv'd nothing, deliver'd nothing, nor could any thing be fasten'd on him to his hurt, I mean for receiving stolen Goods, and yet as things stood, almost all the stolen Goods were brought to him, and put into his Hands.

HE openly kept his Compting House, or Office, like a Man of Business, and had his Books to enter every thing in with the utmost Exactness and Regularity: When you first came to him to give him an Account of any thing

Loſt, it was hinted to you, That you muſt firſt deposite a Crown, this was his Retaining Fee; Then you were ask'd ſome needful Questions, that is to ſay needful, not for his Information, but for your Amusement; as where you liv'd, where the Goods were Loſt, whether out of your Houſe, or out of your Pocket, or whether on the Highway, and the like; and your Answers to them all were Minuted down, as if in order to make a proper Search and Inquiry; whereas perhaps the very Thing you came to enquire after, was in the very Room where you were, or not far off: After all this Grimace was at an end, you were deſir'd to call again, or ſend in a day or two, and then you ſhould know whether he was able to do you any Service or no, and ſo you were diſmiſs'd.

At your ſecond coming, you had ſome Encouragement given you, that you would be ſerv'd, but perhaps the Terms were a little rais'd upon you, and you were told the Rogue that had it was Impudent, that he inſiſted it was worth ſo much, and he could ſell it when he would for double the Money you offer'd; and that if you would not give him ſuch a Sum, he would not treat with you; however, ſays *Jonathan*, if I can but come to the Speech of him, I'll make him be more reaſonable.

THE next time he tells you, that all he can bring the Rogue to is, that — Guineas being paid to the *Porter* who ſhall bring the Goods, and a Promise upon Honour that nothing ſhall be ſaid to him, but juſt take and give; the gold Watch, or the Snuff-Box, or whatever it is, ſhall be brought to you by ſuch a time exactly; and thus upon mutual Assurances the Bargain is made for reſtoring the Goods.

BUT then it remains to be ask'd, what Mr. *Wild* ex-

pects for his Pains in managing this nice Part, who answers with an air of Greatness, he leaves it to you; that he gets nothing by what is to be given the *Porter*, that he is satisfied in being able to serve Gentlemen in such a Manner, so that it is in your Breast to do what you think is handsome by Mr. *Wild*, who has taken a great deal of Pains in it to do you a Service.

IT must be confess'd that in all this, if there was no more than is mention'd, such a Part might be Acted on all Sides without any Guilt fasten'd any where but on the Thief: For Example, a House is robb'd, or a Lady has lost her Gold Watch: *Jonathan* by his Intelligence among the Gang, finds out who has done it; that is to say, he is told 'tis such a one; 'tis no matter how he hears it, he is not bound to the Discovery upon a hear-say; nor is he oblig'd to prosecute a Felony committed on he does not know who, by he knows not who, that's none of his Business.

HOWEVER, having a kind of Knowledge of the Person, he sends to him, to let him know, that if he is his own Friend, he will carry, that is, send the Watch, or the Cane, or the Snuff-box, so, and so, to such a Place; and that if he does so, and the *Porter* receives ten Guineas, or more, or less, whatever it is that is offered, all will be well; if not, he adds a Threatning, that he will be prosecuted with the utmost Severity.

UPON this, the Thief sends the Goods, has the Money, and never sees *Jonathan*, nor any Person else: What can *Jonathan* be charg'd with, in such an Affair as this? I must confess I do not see it; no, nor if the Thief sends him a present of four or five Guineas out of the Money, provided as he said it is without any Conditions made beforehand, or being present, at the Time 'tis done.

NOR, on the other hand, does the treating for delivering the Goods, as above, with a second or third Person give any Room to fix any Thing on *Jonathan*: So that, in short, he treats both with the Thief and with the Person robb'd, with the utmost safety and security. Indeed I do not see why he might not have carryed on such a Commerce as this, with the greatest Ease, I do not say Honesty, in the World, if he had gone no farther; for he took none of your Money for restoring your Goods neither did he restore you any Goods; you gave him Money indeed for his Trouble in enquiring out the Thief, and for using his Interest by awing or perswading to get your stolen Goods sent you back, telling you what you must give to the *Porter* that brings them, if you please, for he does not oblige you to give it.

BUT the Danger lay on the other side of the Question, namely, not being contented with what the Person robb'd gave upon the Foot of a grateful Acknowledgement, for trouble; but impudently taking the Goods of the Thief, sending the *Porter* himself, taking the Money, and then capitulating with the Thief, for such a Part of the Reward; and then this Thief coming in against him as a Witness. This was the very Case in the Fact upon which *Jonathan* miscarried.

So that in a Word, *Jonathan's* Avarice hang'd him. It is true, in the Case he was try'd for, it was Apparent that he set the Robbery, as they express it; that is, he directed the Persons to the Place, nay, went with them to show them the Shop, described the Woman and the Business; and after all, receiv'd the Goods, and gave them the Money for returning them, reserving it in his own Power to take what more he pleas'd for himself; and at last all this being testified by the Thieves themselves.

IT is not to be doubted, but *Jonathan*, to carry on this Commerce to such a Highth as he really had rais'd it, had a perfect Understanding with all the profess'd Thieves in the Town; at least the young Beginners, for these are a Class generally more out of his Power than others, and who are not so easily to be governed as the others are; and yet he finds ways to Influence them too in the way of their Practice. But the rest, I say, he had in his Reach manag'd them as he thought fit; nay, he generally knew, or perhaps appointed them the Quarter they should walk in; so that when ever any Person came to Enquire for his Goods lost, he could make a tollerable Guess at the Thief, by the part of the Town you liv'd in, or where you were when you lost it.

I REMEMBER I had occasion, in a Case of this Kind, to wait upon Mr. *Jonathan* with a Crown in my Hand, as above, and having made a Deposite, I was ask'd, as above, where the Thing was lost? At first he smil'd, and turning to one, I suppose of his Instruments, who can this be? says he, why all our People are gone down to *Sturbridge* Fair; the other answer'd, after some pause, I think I saw *Lynx*, in the Street, Yesterday: Did you, says he, then 'tis that Dog, I warrant you. Well, Sir, says he, I believe we can find out your Man; you shall know more of it, if you let me see you again a *Monday*, this was on the *Friday*: When the *Monday* came, truly I was told, they could not see the young Rogue, and they believ'd he was gone after the rest to the Fair, it being about the beginning of *September*.

AFTER the Fair, I came again and again, but was put off from time to time, and could not at last be serv'd in the Case, it being only a Silver-hilted Sword, which the Thief it seems had found means to turn into Money,

and then there was no coming at it; the Time also having been laps'd by his Honour, having been gone to the Fair.

ANOTHER Person applying in another and more material Affair, was treated with Respect by Mr. *Wild*, and a Pot of Tea brought out in Form: (*N.B.* The Crown being first deposited as usual) The Case related to a Gold Watch, with Trinkets and some Diamonds about the Watch, and the Lady offer'd very considerably, for the restoring it, as I remember, 30*l.* but no Advertisements had been publish'd. Mr. *Wild*, after the usual Enquiries of when it was lost? and where? And being told it was at St. *Anne's Church, Westminster*, pauses a while, and calls up a Servant, and asks aloud, where was *M---ll K---g* last Sunday? About *Westminster*, says the Man, but the Bi--h would not tell where. Was she Crank? says Mr. *Wild*. I don't know, says the Fellow. However, turning to the Lady, says he, Madam, I fancy I shall be able to serve you, and perhaps for less money than your ladyship speaks of. If it be *M---ll K---g*, that Woman, I have in my Thoughts, as I believe 'tis, for she is a dextrous Jade at the Work, I'll have her safe before Morning. The Lady full of Compassion returns, O sir! don't take her up; I assure you I won't prosecute, I'll rather lose my Watch, than have any poor Wretch Hang'd for it.

WHY? Madam, says Mr. *Wild*, We can't talk with her, but by Threatning: We must not make a Bargain with her, that would be to compound a Felony. If I can persuade her to come and bring your Watch, and ask your Pardon, will that satisfy you. Nay, says the Lady, I don't know whether that would be safe, neither: If she will send it me, I had rather; and I'll forgive her, without asking

Pardon. Well, Madam, will you take it, and give the *Porter* that brings it 20 Guineas, if you please, but not to oblige you to it. Whatever you say, *Mr. Wild*, says the Lady. Well, Madam, says *Mr. Wild*, if I may have the Honour to see your Ladyship again.

Lady. Will it not do if I send any Body?

Wild. Why, truly, no Madam: People that deal in these Things, do not care for Witnesses.

Lady. Well, well, that's true: I'll come myself. What Day would you have me come?

Wild. On *Thursday*, Madam.

Lady. Well, *Mr. Wild*, what must I do? What will satisfy you for your Trouble?

Wild. It is time enough, Madam, to speak of that when I am sure I can do you any Service. These Creatures are very loose, and I can't tell you how it may be.

[*Lady*.] Well, *Mr. Wild*, I'll come furnish'd to pay my Respects to you

Wild. Madam, Your most obedient Servant.

[*Waits on her to her coach*.]

ACCORDINGLY, *Thursday* coming, the Lady appears. *Mr. Wild*, in his Callimancoe Night-gown, (*the same he was bang'd in*) receives her; and with a pleasant Look, tells her, he is very glad, to be able to say, that he believes he shall serve her. That it was the same Woman he suspected, and that the Jade had already pawn'd the Watch for some Money, but that it was but a little, and he was glad she had.

Lady. Why, *Mr. Wild*?

Wild. Because, Madam; if she had kept it all this while, it would have been ten to one but she had Broke something about it, or done it some Mischief.

Lady. That's true, indeed. Pray what has she Pawn'd it for?

Wild. Not much, Madam, she has got but seven Guineas upon it yet.

Lady. Well, Mr. *Wild.* what must be done?

Wild. Why, Madam, If the People, that have it, bring it safe and sound to your Ladyship, will you give me your Honour that you will ask no Questions, or stop the Person that comes with it?

Lady. I promise you, on my Word, I will not.

Wild. The Man that brings it may be a poor Innocent Fellow, that knows nothing of it.

Lady. Well, well, he shall have no Harm or Interruption from me.

Wild. Then I believe your Ladyship may hear something of it to Night.

Lady. And what must I give him?

Wild. I don't yet know, Madam, but I'll bring them as low as I can. Not above 20 Guineas, to be sure, Madam.

Lady. That is very kind, indeed. Well, Mr. *Wild.* then I'll make it up to you. [*So the Lady Pulls out her Purse in order to give him some Money.*]

Wild. No, Madam, not a Farthing. Besides you have not got your Watch yet: Pray stay till you see whether the Jade will Perform; tho' I think, indeed, I am pretty sure of her.

Lady. Well, I'll take your Word, Mr. *Wild.* [*Offers him Money again.*]

Wild. By no Means, Madam; let me see if I can serve you.

Lady. Well, Mr. *Wild.* if it must be so, I must come again then.

Wild. It may be not. Will your Ladyship be pleas'd to stay about half an Hour?

Lady. Ay, with all my Heart.

IN about half an Hour, *Jonathan* having been call'd hastily out, comes in again immediately. Madam, says he, if your Ladyship pleases to go into your Coach, and drive gently up *Street*, perhaps a Messenger may desire to speak with you as you go along.

Very well, Mr. *Wild*, I understand you.

UPON the Lady's going along *Street*, a Ticket-Porter, with his Hat in his Hand, shows himself by the Coach-side, and the Lady taking the Hint, stops her Coach, and lets down the Glass, and speaking to the Fellow, says, Would you speak with me Friend?

THE Fellow says not a Word, but delivers into her Hand the Watch with all the Trinkets and Dimonds perfectly safe; and when she had look'd upon it a little, gives her a Note, wherein was written nothing but thus in Words at length,

Eighteen Guineas.

THE Lady immediately tells out the Money to the Porter, and he was going away: Hold! Honest Friend, says the Lady, there's somewhat for your self; and gives him half a Guinea, and so dismiss'd him.

A DAY or two after she makes Mr. *Wild* a Visit, and presents him with 15 Guineas more: But with great Difficulty made him accept of it; telling her it was a great deal to much; that he would not take it by any means, but at last accepts it, with the Ceremony of saying, he would not take it on account of the Watch, but for having been at some Trouble in serving her Ladyship, in which she was pleas'd to Reward him much more than he deserv'd;

when, at the same time 'twas very likely [he] had part of the 18 Guineas too from *M---ll K---*g, who he frighted out of the Watch with threatning to have her put into *Newgate* for stealing of it.

THIS may serve for a Sketch of *Practice*, as I call it; and to let the World see in what manner this Secret Service was carryed on; how the Thieving Trade was managed, how the People were gull'd out of their Money, and how a Crew of Hell-born Rogues and Whores, which is much the same, have been bred up to the Trade by their grand Patron and Master of Art, *Jonathan Wild*. It would be endless to give a particular of the many Tricks and Cheats of this Kind that he has manag'd, during a continued Life of Wickedness, for about 16 Years, among which it would be very Instructing, to give an account of the numbers of poor wretched Creatures, like himself; who he having first led them on in the Road of Crime for several Years, as long as they would be subservient to him, and put all their Purchase into his Hands, abandon'd as soon as they offer'd to set up for themselves, and leaving them to the mercy of the Government, made himself the Instrument of their Destruction, and then pleaded the Merit of it to the Publick. But these require a long History, rather than a Pamphlet, and therefore I wholly omit them.

It is time now to enter into a Particular Account of the conclusion of this Life of Crime, it has been a kind of Comedy, or a Farce rather all a long, but it prov'd a Tragedy at last; and *Jonathan* being brought to Justice, has summ'd up his Account here in a most ignominious End, satisfyed how in a manner not uncommon only, but such as History can not give one Instance of the like, except lately, that of a Murther at St. *Edmunds-Bury*, in *Suffolk*.

THE Sum of the matter is this, *Jonathan* had long been so Notorious, and his Practice, tho' not within the Compass of the Law, was yet in its Nature so Criminal in itself, and *above all*, was so dangerous in its Example, that the Publick began to be justly Alarm'd at it, and to consider of proper Measures for putting a stop to it, [for] which purpose an Act of Parliament, (the only Remedy for growing Evils of this kind) was pass'd the last Session to make it Felony, to take or receive any Reward for the restoring of any stolen Goods, knowing them to be Stolen: The Clause in the said Act is as follows.

“AND whereas there are several Persons who have secret Acquaintance with Felons, and who make it their Business to help Persons to their stol'n Goods, and by that means gain Money from them, which is divided between them and the Felons, whereby they greatly encourage such Offenders: Be it Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That where ever any Person taketh Money or Reward, directly or indirectly, under pretence or upon Account of helping any Person or Persons to any stol'n Goods or Chattels, every such Person so taking Money or Reward as aforesaid, (unless such Person do apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such Felon who stole the same, and cause such Felon to be brought to his Tryal for the same, and give Evidence against him) shall be Guilty of Felony, and suffer the Pains and Penalties of Felony, according to the Nature of the Felony committed in stealing such Goods and Chattels, in the manner and with such Circumstances as [if] the same were stol'n.”

THIS Act was so directly aim'd at *Jonathan's* general Practice, that he could not be Ignorant enough not to see

it; but least he should, a certain Honourable Person, too just to favour him, and yet too human not to warn him of his Danger that he might avoid it; gave him Notice that this very Act was made against his unlawful Practice, and therefore in time warn'd him, in few, but significant Words, to take heed to himself and avoid the Consequences by leaving off the Trade of Thief-Catching, as it is unjustly call'd, that is, of compounding for the return of stol'n Goods.

BUT good Advice to *Jonathan Wild*, was like talking *Gospel* to a kettle Drum, bidding a Dragoon not Plunder, or talking of Compassion to a *Hussar*; he that was hardened above the Baseness of all cautionary Fear, scorn'd the Advice, and went on in his wicked Trade; not warily and wisely as he had formerly done, but in short, with more Impudence and shameless Boldness than ever, for as if he despis'd Laws, and the Governours, and the provok'd Justice of the Nation: He now not only took Rewards for returning Goods stolen, but even directed the Stealing of them, and making himself a Party to the very Robberies themselves; acted a Part of the Thief, and the Receiver also; and this in so many Cases, that we are told if the Indictment had fail'd for which he was justly condemn'd, there were several others ready to have been brought on, and the Witnesses ready to have been produc'd for Proof of the Facts.

BUT one Felony being fully prov'd was sufficient; and upon a full Hearing he was Convicted in so evident a Manner, that he really had nothing to say in his own Behalf, not being able to deny the Fact; his Council would have pleaded, that the Offence was not within the late Statute upon which he was Indicted; but the Court an-

swer'd them fully, and over-ruled the Plea; so that being allow'd to be within the Statute, and the Fact being fully proved by several Witnesses, he receiv'd Sentence of Death the 15th of *May* last.

THE Circumstances of this Fact seem to be so agreeable to the whole tenor of *Jonathan's* former Practice, and so like other Parts of his Life, that we can not but observe the Paralel, and conclude the particular Accounts of other parts of his Life to be true likewise.

It has been said of him, that if ever he was mov'd to promote any Man, or to help any Man to Business, which he often pretended to do in Compassion to their Poverty, that still he did it always in his own way, that is to say, endeavour'd to make Thieves of them, to bring them to be Hang'd, to keep them from Misery, and to make *New-gate* Birds of them, to keep them out of the *Compters*; this he practis'd principally upon young Creatures, and little destitute Children, such as seem'd to be left to wander about in Want and Beggery; and many a poor Boy he has pick'd up in the Street pretending Charity, and a willingness to do them good, which when it has come to the Issue, has been no more or less than to breed them up to Thieving, and ripen them for the *Devil*.

BUT which is still worse than all the rest, I have several Stories by me at this Time, which I have particular Reasons to believe are true, of Children thus strolling about the Streets in Misery and Poverty, whom he has taken in on pretence of providing for them, and employing them; and all has ended in this (*viz.*) making Rogues of them. *Horrid Wickedness!* his Charity has been to breed them up to be Thieves, and *still more horrid!* several of these his own *forster Children*, he has himself caused afterwards

to be apprehended and Hang'd for the very Crimes which he first taught them how to Commit.

I AM not indeed to make a jest of these things, there is something shocking and dismal in the very Relation, and therefore it is, that this Account of the Life of *Jonathan Wild*, which in its Nature, is all a Tragedy, is not related with an air of Banter and Ridicule as Others are; 'tis hoped it will not be the less acceptable to Men of Sense; it is a solemn and terrible thing to look back on a Life of such harden'd, abominable Practices; to see it carried on in defiance, either of God or Devil; and that with such Success too, passing for so many Years unpunish'd; and tho' there are some things in the long Series of his wicked Life, which may relish with the Levity of a drol-way of Writing; yet to see a Man turn'd into an incarnate Devil, his Life a Scene of inimitable Crimes; his very Society a Hell, and equally devouring both to Soul and Body; he that can read it without some Horror, must have very little of what we call Christianity about him.

To see him take up an unthinking Youth in the Street cover'd with Dirt and Rags, and willing on any Terms to get out of his Misery; to see this superlative Wretch pretend Charity to the Child, and tell him he will provide for him, and thereby engage the Lad to him, as to a Gentleman that intend to do him good; and then instead of providing for him, lead him by the Hand to Hell gates, and after that, like a true Devil, thrust him in! First to tempt, and then accuse, which is the very nature of the Devil; first to make poor desolate vagabond Boys, Thieves, and then betray them to the Gallows! Who can think of such a thing without a just Abhorrence, who can think it to be any less than the worst sort of Murther; such was the Life

and such the Practice of this wretched Man, and in these very last Scenes of his Life, he grew so audacious, that it seem'd as if he was really ripening up a pace for his own Destruction.

IT is said of him in the Case of that harden'd Fellow *Blueskin*, that he should say, *Jonathan* first made him a Thief, and then abandoning him, left him to carry it on by himself; and it being necessary to his (*Jonathan's*) Fame to have always some Chase in his view, to build his own Merit upon, with the Government; he kept a Watch upon him, that he might at last bring him to the Gallows, for which the said *Blueskin* was very near giving him a pass into another World, by that desperate Attempt to cut his Throat in the face of a Court of Justice; which *Jonathan* tho' surpriz'd at then, has had leisure since to wish, had been effectually done at that time, and said so publickly in the *Press-Yard*, two days before his Tryal.

BUT to come then to the particular Fact for which he Suffer'd, the Story as it was related upon Oath at his Tryal, and these several Circumstances belonging to it stands thus,

Katherine Stetbam deposed: That on the 22^d, of *January*, between Three and Four in the Afternoon a Man and Woman came into her Shop, under Pretence of buying some Lace: They were said *she* so very difficult, that I had none below that would please them; and so, leaving my Daughter in the Shop, I stepped up Stairs, and brought down another Box. We could not agree about the Price, and so they went away together; and in about half an Hour after I miss'd a Tin Box of Lace, that I valu'd at 50*l*. The same Night, and the next, I went to *Jonathan Wilde's* House; but not meeting with him, I advertised the Lace that I had lost, with a Reward of

15 Guineas, and no Questions ask'd. But hearing nothing of it, I went to *Jonathan's* House again, and then met with him: He desir'd me to give him a Description of the Persons that I suspected, which I did as near as I could; and then he told me that he'd make Enquiry, and bade me call again in two or three days. I did so; and then he said, that he had heard something of my Lace, and expected to know more of the Matter in a little time. I came to him again on that day that he was apprehended, (I think 'twas the 15th of *February*.) I told him, that tho' I had advertised but 15 Guineas Reward, yet I'd give 20 or 25 rather than not have my Goods. *Don't be in such a Hurry*, says he, *I don't know but I may help you to it for less; and if I can, I will. The Persons that have it, are gone out of Town, I shall set them to quarrelling about it, and then I shall get it the cheaper.* On the 10th of *March*, he sent me word, that if I would come to him in *Newgate*, and bring 10 Guineas in my Pocket, he could help me to the Lace. I went: He desired me to call a *Porter*; but I not knowing where to find one, he sent a Person who brought one that appeared to be a *Ticket-Porter*. The Prisoner gave me a Letter, which he said was sent him as a Direction where to go for the Lace; but I could not read, and so I deliver'd it to the *Porter*. Then he desired me to give the *Porter* the 10 Guineas, or else (he said) the Persons that had the Lace would not deliver it. I gave the *Porter* the Money; he went away, and in a little time return'd, and brought me a Box that was seal'd up, but not the same that was lost. I open'd it, and found all my Lace but one Piece. Now, *Mr. Wilde*, (says I) *What must you have for your Trouble? Not a farthing*, (says he) *not a Farthing for me. I don't do these things for worldly Interest, but only for the Good of poor People that*

have met with Misfortunes. As for the Piece of Lace that is missing, I hope to get it for you e'er long; and I don't know but that I may help you not only to your Money again, but to the Thief too; and if I can, much good may't do you. And as you're a good Woman and a Widow, and a Christian, I desire nothing of you but your Prayers, and for them I shall be thankful. I have a great many Enemies, and God knows what may be the Consequence of this Imprisonment.

THIS is a black Story indeed, and it was very remarkable, that the Fact was really committed, that is to say, the Felony was contracted, or that Part which the late Act in particular reach'd, (*viz.*) the delivering the Goods, and taking the Money for discovering them; all this Part was acted I say after his being committed to *Newgate*.

It was likewise very remarkable, that there was another Case much of the same Nature, which lay ready to have been brought to a Hearing if this had not intervened, namely; of a Pocket-Book stolen from Mr. *Tidman* a *Corn Chandler*, in *Giltspur Street*, near *Newgate*, in which was a Bank Bill for 116*l.* in which the Witnesses were two Persons who had pleaded to their Pardons.

WE come now to his Behaviour after his Condemnation, and at the Place of Execution, at which last Place he indeed scarce said a Word to God or Man, being either doz'd with the liquid *Laudanum* which he had taken, or demented and confus'd by the horror of what was before him, and the reflection of what was within him.

NOR even before he took the Dose of *Laudanum* was he in any suitable manner sensible of his Condition, or concern'd about it, very little sign appear'd of his having the least Hope concerning his future State; but as he liv'd harden'd, he seem'd to die stupid.

HE declin'd coming to the Chapel, either to the Sermon or Prayers, pleading his lameness by the Gout, but chiefly the Crowds and Disorders of the People discomposing or disordering him. In the condemn'd Hold, or Place where Malefactors are kept after their Sentence, they had Prayers as usual, and he seem'd to join with them in a kind of Form, but little or nothing of the Penitence of a Criminal, in view of Death, appear'd upon him.

HIS principal Enquiries seem'd to be about what kind of State was to be expected after Death, and how the invisible World was to be describ'd; but nothing of the most certain Judgment which is there to be expected, righteous and terrible, according to the Deeds done in the Body, or of a Saviour to whom to have recourse, as the Slayer in the old Law had to the City of Refuge to save him from the avenger of Blood.

As his Time shortn'd he seem'd more and more confus'd, and then began to entertain Discourses of the Lawfulness of dismissing ourselves out of the present Misery, after the Example of the antient *Romans*, which as he said was then esteem'd as an act of Bravery and Gallantry, and recorded to their Honour.

THIS kind of Discourse was indeed sufficient to have caused the Keepers to have had an Eye to him, so as to prevent any Violence he might offer to himself, and they did watch him as narrowly as they could; however he so far deceived them, as that the Day before his Execution he found means to have a small Bottle with liquid *Laudanum* convey'd to him unseen, of which he took so large a Quantity, that it was soon perceiv'd by the Change it made upon him, for he was so drowsie that he could not

hold up his Head, or keep open his Eyes, at the time of reading the Prayers.

UPON this two of his Fellow Prisoners endeavour'd to rouse him (not suspecting that he had taken enough to hurt him) and taking him by the Hands, they perswaded him to stand up, and walk a little about the Room, which he could not do without help because of his Gout.

THIS walking, tho' it did a little waken him, had several other Operations at the same time; for first it chang'd his Countenance, turning it to be exceeding pale, then it put him into a violent Sweat, which made them apprehend he would faint, upon which they offered to give him something to keep up his Spirits, but he refus'd it, telling them he was very sick; soon after which he vomited very violently, and this in all probability prolong'd his Life for the Execution; for by their stirring him, and making him vomit, he brought up the greatest Part of the *Laudanum* which he had taken, before it had been long enough in his Stomach to mix with the animal Spirits or Blood, which if it had done but one Hour more, he would certainly have taken his last sleep in the Prison.

BUT Nature having thus discharg'd itself of the load, he reviv'd again, and tho' still doz'd and insensible of what he said or did, yet he was able to walk about, speak, and act sufficiently for the Part that remain'd to him, namely, for the last scene of his Life at the Gallows.

ACCORDINGLY on *Monday* the 24th of *May*, he was convey'd in a Cart to *Tyburn*, and tho' it was apparent he was still under the Operation of the *Laudanum*, and that which was left in his Stomach had so far seiz'd upon his Spirits as to make him almost stupid, yet it began to go off, and Nature getting the Mastery of it, he began to be more

sensible of what he was going about; but the Scene was then short, and he had little to do but to stand up in the Cart, and, the needful Apparatus being made, he turn'd off with the rest, which was done about 3 a-Clock in the Afternoon.

THE rudeness of the Mob to him, both at his first going into the Cart, and all the way from thence to the Place of Execution, is not to be express'd, and shews how notorious his Life had been, and what Impression his known Villanies had made on the Minds of the People; for, contrary to the general Behaviour of the Street in such Cases, instead of compassionate Expressions, and a general Cast of Pity which ordinarily sits on the Countenances of the People, when they see the miserable Objects of Justice go to their Execution; here was nothing to be heard but Cursings and Execrations; abhorring the Crimes and the very Name of the Man, throwing Stones and Dirt at him all the way, and even at the Place of Execution; the other Malefactors being all ready to be turn'd off, but the Hangman giving him leave to take his own Time, and he continuing setting down in the Cart, the Mob impatient, and fearing a Reprieve, tho' they had no occasion for it, call'd furiously upon the Hangman to dispatch him, and at last threatened to tear him to pieces, if he did not tye him up immediately.

IN short there was a kind of an universal Rage against him, which nothing but his Death could satisfie or put an end to, and if a Reprieve had come, it would have, twas thought, been difficult for the Officers to have brought him back again without his receiving some Mischief, if not his Deaths Wound from the Rabble.

So detestable had he made himself by his notorious

Crimes, and to such a height were his wicked Practices come.

THUS ended the Tragedy, and thus was a Life of horrid and inimitable Wickedness finish'd at the Gallows, the very same Place where, according to some, above 120 miserable Creatures had been hang'd, whose Blood in great measure may be said to lye at his Door, either in their being first brought into the thieving Trade, or led on in it by his Encouragement and Assistance; and many of them at last betray'd and brought to Justice by his Means; upon which worst sort of Murder he valued himself, and would have had it pass'd for Merit, even with the Government itself.

FINIS.

Speedily will be publish'd, (of which Notice will be given in the *Daily Post* and *Post-Boy*)

THE *Adventures and Proceedings of the famous Captain John Gow alias Smith, the Captain of the Pyrates, on Board the Ship Revenge, formerly call'd the George Galley an English Ship fitted out in Holland, with an Account of all their Piracies, and the barbarous Murders they committed, from their first putting out to Sea, till their being Stranded on the Island of Orkneys on the North of Scotland, where they were apprehended by Mr. Fea, a Gentleman of that Country; collected from the Account of the Pirates themselves, and from original Papers taken on Board the said Ship: N.B. No other genuine Account can be publish'd, the Originals being already secur'd. Printed and Sold by John Applebee in Black Fryers.*

THE TRUE AND GENUINE ACCOUNT OF THE
LIFE AND ACTIONS OF THE LATE JONATHAN
WILD *was first printed in an octavo pamphlet, published by John Applebee on June 8th, 1725. A second edition followed on June 10th, and a third on June 12th in the same year.*

This pamphlet is now exceedingly scarce; it was reprinted in 1895 in G. A. Aitken's edition of Defoe, from the almost unique copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin: and through the courtesy of the Board this copy was also made available for the present edition. The text is a close reprint of the original.

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